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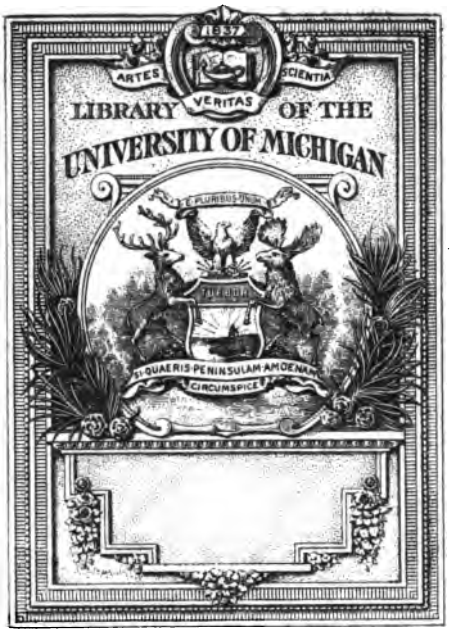
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THE WORK OF THE MONK

IN

EARLY ENGLAND.

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY BY

HARRIET E. TUELL.

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PREFACE.

M. Guizot, in his History of Civilization, says that civilization seems to him to be the sum, the expression of the whole life of nations. He defines it as a fact subsisting on two conditions and manifesting itself by two symptoms, the development of social activity and that of individual activity; the progress of society and the progress of humanity. To one of our day, looking from an environment which is characterised by so high a degree of individual and social activity, back to a less fortunate age, it would be hard to find anything of greater interest than an attempt to discover what has brought about the change. Encouraged by the statement of M. Guizot that, if limited to certain centuries and certain people, this civilization is a fact which may be described, related, we have attempted within very narrow limits of time and space a study of the work of a single class, that of the monks, toward the furtherance of the progress of society and the progress of humanity.

Early England makes a particularly fortunate subject for such a study, in that valuable testimony is given by one of the monks themselves, the venerable Bede. His Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, which was finished in 731, is made up of the results of his personal knowledge and of material which he gained from correspondence with people in other parts of the island, from the archives of the church at Rome, parts of which were copied by a friendly monk, from earlier written records and from traditional accounts. These materials were gathered and put together with the thoroughness and carefulness of an author whose habits and instincts were those of a scholar, and whose familiarity with the scenes and atmosphere which he described give to his narrative a peculiar vividness. Even

the traits which would be imperfections in a modern historical work, such as his extreme credulity, are valuable to us as representative of the time in which he lived.

Hardly less valuable for this study is the edition by Haddan and Stubbs of the Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. The names of the editors of this work are a sufficient guarantee for its authoritativeness, and in all cases of doubt in regard to the date or authenticity of documents, their dictum has been regarded as final.

For the rest, the investigation has been confined chiefly to contemporary works like the writings of Bede and Aldhelm, since it seemed that, in a study which depended so much upon incidental hints in regard to the manners and customs of the people, less reliance could be placed upon works written even a few centuries after the event treated of than if the subject were of a different nature.

In order to understand the work of the Irish monks in England, it seemed necessary to glance, at least, at the beginnings of Irish Christianity and monasticism. As this was somewhat removed from the general subject under discussion, it seemed best to avoid as much as possible all doubtful points and confine the work to comparatively settled ground. The lack of assistance from Haddan and Stubbs in one part of the work was keenly felt, as the subject is difficult, especially to one restricted to sources in the Latin language. Much help has been gained from Skene's Celtic Scotland, in the volume devoted to Church and Culture, and from Reeves' critical edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba.

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INTRODUCTION.

History has handed down to us the story of one Antony, an Egyptian youth, who withdrew from the life about him that he might spend his days in labor and prayer. All his desire and energy were kept for perfecting his self-discipline. He subjected himself to many austerities with the object of keeping a firm hold on himself, and finally went off into the desert. There he tried so to order his life that he should neither fall into sin nor have a lust for anything, nor cherish wrath against any, nor heap up treasure upon earth.

His fame gradually spread abroad, and many followed his example, so that the great Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who visited the desert during one of his periods of exile, said: "Their cells were in the mountains like tabernacles filled with holy bands of men who sang psalms, loved reading, fasted, prayed, rejoiced in the hope of things to come, labored in almsgiving and preserved love and harmony one with another, and truly it was possible, as it were, to behold a land set by itself filled with piety and justice. There, there was neither the evildoer nor the injured nor the reproaches of the tax gatherer, but, instead, a multitude of ascetics, and the one purpose of them all was to arrive at virtue. So that anyone beholding the cells again and seeing such good order among the monks, would lift up his voice and say, 'How goodly are thy dwellings, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel, in shady glens and as a garden by a river, as tents which the Lord hath pitched, and like cedars near waters.'"

The example of Antony was followed up and extended by Pacominus and Basil, who gave greater organization to the movement. Basil's rule for the guidance of monks became very popular.

Although Antony was not the first to embrace a solitary life, he is most important to us because it was he who first established communities of Christian monks, and was considered by Athanasius to be a worthy subject for biography. Now, Athanasius, in the course of his many periods of exile, was a great traveler, and, among other places, visited various points in the West, notably Treves and Rome.

As he was a warm admirer of Antony, he aroused among his acquaintances a desire to follow the example of the Eastern ascetic, whose life he made known to them.

Augustine relates an incident which shows the effect of his story on the youth of the West. Potitianus, who held high office in the Emperor's court, had told him, "How, on a certain afternoon at Treves, when the Emperor was taken up with seeing the Circensian games, he and three others, his comrades, went out for a walk in the gardens close to the city walls, and there, as they chanced to walk two and two, one strolled away with him, while the others went by themselves, and these in their rambling came upon a certain cottage inhabited by some of thy servants 'poor in spirit,' of whom 'is the kingdom of heaven,' where they found a book in which was written the life of Antony. This one of them began to read, marvel at, and be fired by it, and in the reading to meditate on embracing such a life and giving up his worldly employments to serve Thee. And these were of the body called agents for public affairs. Then suddenly, being overwhelmed with a holy love and a sober sense of shame, in anger with himself he cast his eyes upon his friend, exclaiming, 'Tell me, I entreat thee, what end we are striving for by all these labors of ours? What is our aim? What is our motive in doing service? Can our hopes in court rise higher than to be ministers of the Emperor? And in such a position, what is there not brittle and fraught with danger, and by how many dangers arrive we at greater danger? And when arrive we thither? But I desire to become a friend of God. Behold, I am even now made it!' Thus spake he, and in the pangs of the travail of the new life, he turned his eyes again upon the page and continued reading, and was inwardly changed where thou sawest, and his mind was divested of the world, as soon became evident, for as he read and the surging of his heart rolled along, he shuddered from time to time, hesitated and resolved on a better course, and now having become Thine, he said to his friend, 'Now have I broken loose from those hopes of ours and am determined to serve God, and this I begin from this hour, in this very place. If thou art reluctant to imitate me, hinder me not.' The other replied that he would cleave to him to share in so great a reward and so great a service. Thus both of them being now Thine were building a tower at the necessary cost of forsaking all that they had and following Thee, and setting their affections upon heavenly things, remained in the cottage, and both of

them had affianced brides, who, when they heard of this, dedicated also their virginity unto God."

This story tells but one instance of what was taking place in a rapidly increasing number of people, including many of the ablest men of the time. Jerome and Augustine did much toward the foundation of colonies of monks throughout Italy. A monastery at Marseilles furnished teachers to Gaul, and so on until many parts of the West, particularly along the shores of the Mediterranean, were dotted with monasteries. The conditions of life in the West were not, however, favorable to such a career as that of Eastern monks, so there was need of a new rule, suited to the necessities of the case. This need was best met in the sixth century, by the work of Benedict of Nursia.

Born about the year 480, Benedict was sent to Rome to be educated, but saw so much wickedness there that he fled from it into solitude. He finally settled at Monte Casino, where he established a noted monastery.

He instituted the famous Benedictine rule which came to be widely adopted throughout Western Christendom. His aim was the foundation of a school for the Lord's service. Although the author tried to formulate a rule in which there should be nothing too burdensome or severe, he was most anxious to cure the vices of the monks, even at the cost of severity. The result was a rule remarkable for its moderation and freedom from pettiness; sufficiently elastic to suit individual needs and yet well suited to its purpose. Anyone might become a monk after his sincerity had been thoroughly tested. He was then absolutely subject to the abbat of the monastery, and special pains were taken to cultivate the virtues of obedience, humility, poverty, charity and temperance. It was not an easy life, but it had its gentle side which showed itself in the hospitality to strangers and the kind consideration for the sick and infirm. In order to do away with idleness, the time which was not spent in worship was divided between reading and manual labor. If there were any artificers in the monastery, they were allowed to practice their trades. The rank of the monks was determined by the time of conversion and merit of life. A great element in the monastic life was the instruction of boys, who were carefully watched and under strict discipline. Any offence against the rule was punished by blows or fasting, until the boy grew old enough to understand the meaning of excommunication.

It was Gregory I., the great monk and bishop, who sent the monk to the English. Born of a noble Roman family, he had preferred the life of the cloister to the high secular honors which fell to his lot, and had given his wealth toward the founding of monasteries. He was, however, a man of too much executive ability to admit of his spending his life in a cloister. In 590, having rendered notable service to the church, he was made pope. Much as he regretted leaving the monastery, he devoted his energies to the work of the office, and not only strengthened the church and monasticism at home, but extended its influence abroad.

Among his missionary enterprises was the one which gave him the well-deserved title of "Apostle of the English." In the words of the great early English historian: "Whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the churches already reduced to the faith of the truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the church of Christ, so that we may be allowed thus to attribute to him the character of an apostle, for though he is not an apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for we are the seal of his apostleship in our Lord."

English monks might well be grateful to him, not only for the great thought in his mind, but for the breadth and depth of the wisdom with which he carried it out. The mission to England was the result of no sudden burst of enthusiasm on his part, but of ever-watchful readiness to aid in bringing the fair-faced strangers to the fulfillment of that high destiny which, if we may believe the old story, was suggested to this celebrated punster by their English name. Unable to do the work himself, he first asked Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul, to buy a number of English captives, that they might be trained in monasteries to be of service to God. How successful he was we do not know, but soon after Gregory sent Augustine, the prior of his monastery of Saint Andrews, with several other monks, to preach to the English nation. These monks are described as men who feared the Lord, and Augustine is referred to by Gregory as a man of industry and zeal, instructed in the monastical rule, full of knowledge of the holy Scripture, and endued with good works. After they had fairly started on their journey, the prospect seemed fearful to them, and they sent back Augustine to beg Gregory's permission to return home.[1]

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 5 and 6. Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1,

The reply of the pope is significant, in that the motive to which he appealed was one of great force in all monastic work. After urging them not to give up a good work once undertaken, he comforted them by the assurance that much labor would be followed by an eternal reward. At the close of the letter, he referred again to the joy of the reward in the eternal country. He also exhorted them to obey Augustine as their abbat.

Of the civilization of the English nation to which Augustine and his monks were sent, we know very little. There were cities, towns and villages of some sort, but the country to the north at least was sparsely settled. The inhabitants were of the German race and it is fair to suppose that they had the usual barbarian characteristics of generosity, hospitality, impulsiveness, frankness, laziness, intemperance and insubordination. The last three traits were especially condemned in the penitentials and ecclesiastical rules. It is not unlikely that the nation as a whole had that German sentiment of loyalty such as animated Lilla when he interposed his body to save his king from the sword of an enemy. They were pitiless toward their enemies, killing and ravaging in a conquered country, and the conditions of their life since coming to the island of Britain had not been such as to encourage the arts and virtues of peace. They had first come in the capacity of warriors, and had spent their time and energy in fierce warfare, at first with the native inhabitants of the island, and later with one another. That their contests were not confined to national warfare, but extended to personal struggles, is evident from the laws of Ethelbert, which are almost entirely taken up with the prices to be paid in compensation for various bodily injuries received in fighting. These fines were not to be paid to the government, but to the injured person or his kinsmen, and varied, not in accordance with the motive of the crime, nor the principle of every man's equality before the law, but with the rank of the victim and the extent of the injury. The deed was not regarded as a sin, but as a personal loss to be duly paid for. It was the mark of a period of almost ideal order when a woman with her babe could walk from sea to sea without injury. Of the position of woman we can only judge from the laws and from the sins pointed out to be guarded against by monks. The penitentials of Theodore and Bede give a large proportion of space to the consideration of the relation between the sexes, and the universal celibacy of those aspiring to especially holy living may be an index of the extent of the evil. The laws of

Ethelbert also touch this question. Slavery is mentioned in these laws and seems to have been common among the English. Parents even sold their children sometimes.[1]

Their buildings seem to have been made of wood or wattles and thatch, since we have frequent mention in Bede of the destruction of buildings by fire. In one instance at least the fire was built in the middle of the room, so that it was possible for the roof of wattles and thatch to take fire from the sparks.

What their literature was we do not know definitely, but that there was a native poetry is very probable. The poem of Beowulf was composed by Germans before their coming to England, and Bede in the story of Caedmon mentions the custom of singing songs for amusement among the secular inhabitants at Whitby. These songs were probably preserved in the memory of the people, since no remnant of them has come down to us. It is even a disputed point whether they used letters as we do.

It is fair to conclude that their religion was that of their German forefathers, who probably worshipped a great all-father, Woden, and many lesser divinities, who together had power over every event of their lives. The generality of the people in England, however, seem to have worshipped images of these gods in wood and stone. The priests of the religion lived under certain peculiar restrictions, the significance of which we do not know. Like the Christians, they sometimes claimed the power of working miracles.

The Anglo-Saxons knew very little of Christianity. Although there was a native British church, it had not force enough to withstand such an inroad of paganism, and the hatred which they felt for their conquerors prevented their preaching their faith among them. At the time of the coming of Augustine, the British church confined its efforts to those parts of the country not under Anglo-Saxon dominion, and the only trace of Christianity among the English was in Kent. The king of this province had married a Christian Frankish princess, who had brought with her a bishop to preserve her faith. The king and his nation, however, still remained pagan.[2]

To these rude people came the monks of Gregory, and it is our task to find out as far as possible what was their work for England.

[1] Theodore's Penitential, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 202.

[2] The chief source for this account of the state of the English has been the Ecclesiastical History of Bede.

CHAPTER I.

AUGUSTINE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

In 597 Augustine and his companions landed on the island of Thanet on the eastern coast of Britain. They sent word to Ethelbert, the king of Kent, that they had come from Rome, bringing an excellent message, which certainly assured to all taking advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven and a kingdom without end with the living and true God. The Christian religion was not altogether unknown to the king, as he had married a Frankish princess who was a Christian, and she had brought with her a bishop to keep her in the faith. He showed a disposition to treat the strangers fairly, providing for their wants while he considered what to do with them.[1]

Some days after, in response to his summons, they came to a conference with him, carrying in place of a banner a silver cross and a picture of the Christ, singing the litany and praying for their own welfare and that of the English. A brief report of Augustine's words says that he told "How Jesus, pitiful, by his own suffering redeemed the sinfulness of the whole world, and to all the faithful opened a door into the heavenly kingdom."[2] Probably he laid considerable stress too on promises of future rewards to those who should follow his teaching.[3] Ethelbert offered to supply all their needs; nor did he hinder them from making as many converts as they could. He gave them a residence in Canterbury, and we can imagine the impression made upon the English by the entrance into the city of these forty monks with the cross and picture as they sang in concert the litany: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned, hallelujah."

Having first addressed themselves to the king, the monks appealed to the people. They held meetings in the church of Saint

[1] Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, book I., chapter 25.

[2] Aelfric (A.D. 1000), Homilies, edition of the Aelfric Society, volume II., page 129. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 11.) This was written some centuries after the event, but gives at least the traditional account.

[3] The king in his reply conceded that his words and promises were very fair. (Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. I., p. 25.)

Martin, in which they sang, prayed, said mass, preached, and, when opportunity offered, baptized. As they tried to live up to their teaching by imitating the early apostles in the simplicity of their life, showed no wordly desires, and by fasting, watching and praying distinguished themselves from those about them, they showed themselves truly "men who feared the Lord."[1] We are told that they held themselves always ready to suffer and even to die for the truth which they preached. To the men of their time, however, the story of the wonderful miracles which they wrought was the most conclusive argument in favor of their truthfulness.[2] Many persons, among them the king, flocked to hear them, and received baptism at their hands. The conversion of the king increased their influence, as he then allowed them to preach openly anywhere, and his interest brought many to at least nominal allegiance to the new faith. With the tolerance common to the Germans, Ethelbert refrained from compelling anyone to believe in Christianity. The next year Gregory was able to exult in the success of his efforts, as his monks were distinguishing themselves by the their marvellous miracles and by the number of their converts. He had heard that ten thousand Angles were baptized at one time.[3]

In the meantime, Augustine, who had been ordained bishop of the English,[4] sent to the pope an account of his work, and asked for a solution to several puzzling questions which he did not feel equal to deciding himself. The replies he received bear witness to the catholicity and good sense of their author. Gregory was not so bound by Roman methods that he could not adapt the customary methods to suit the circumstances of the case. In answer to the question into how many portions the offerings at the altar should be divided, he mentioned that it was the custom at Rome for bishops to divide all emoluments into four portions: one for the bishop and his family, because of hospitality and entertainments; one for the clergy; one for the poor, and one to repair the churches. To Augustine, however, as brought up under monastic rule, he recommended the practice of the primitive church, according to which all things were held in common. There would then be no question of

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. I., c. 23.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles. bk. I., c. 26.

[3] Gregory to Eulogius, June, 598 (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 12). The story may have grown in its journey from England.

[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1, c. 27, and Ep. to Eulogius as above.

making portions, since all that could be spared was to be spent in religious works. So, too, in regard to the church service to be used in England, Augustine was not confined to the Roman usage, but was to choose the best from every church and make up one service.[1] Offenders against the church were to be dealt with in the same spirit. Those who stole the property of the church were to be corrected according to their individual needs. A difference was recognized between the man who stole from want and he who stole when he had property. Even when severity was necessary, it was to be exercised not from passion, but because the best good required it.[2] He summed up his whole policy in regard to the English church in a few words:[3] "For at this time the holy church chastises some things through zeal, and tolerates some through meekness, and connives at some things through discretion, that so she may often, by this forbearance and connivance, suppress the evil which she disapproves, but all that come to the faith are to be admonished not to do such things; and if any shall be guilty of them, they are to be excluded from the communion of the blood and body of Christ. For as the offence is in some measure to be tolerated in those who did it through ignorance, so it is to be strenuously prosecuted in those who do not fear to sin knowingly."

We get a glimpse of the life of the church in the admonitions in regard to the clerks who were not in holy orders. They were permitted to marry and receive their separate stipend, but they must be carefully watched that they should live orderly lives, under ecclesiastical rules, and attend to the singing of psalms and abstain from everything unlawful.[4]

Gregory's efforts to further the work were unceasing. Finding that Augustine needed more help, he sent several monks to England, and with them everything necessary for the services of the church, such as vestments, relics, books and ornaments.[4] He sent also letters to the queen, commending her zeal,[5] and to Ethelbert, requesting him to further the cause of Christ by suppressing the old worship and tearing down the heathen temples. His upright

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 19.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 20.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 21. Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1, c. 27 (Giles' translation).

[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1, c. 29.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 17.

life was to be to the people an example of Christian manhood, and by exhorting, terrifying, soothing, and correcting, he was to elevate the life of his people. The pope appealed to his desire for glory and his fear of the judgment of God. The contrast between his temporary kingdom and the kingdom of the saints, which should never end, was brought home to his mind by a skillful reference to the approaching end of the world.[1] To Augustine came the gift of the pall, by the use of which he might add more solemnity to the mass.[2] He also received a warning lest the miracles which were said to have been performed should so puff him up as to call his attention from that great work of conversion at which the whole Christian world was rejoicing.[3]

The time was now come for greater organization in the church. Gregory gave to Augustine authority to appoint twelve bishops in several places, who should be subject to his jurisdiction; and to the bishop appointed at York was to be given the right to appoint twelve more there when occasion required it. All, however, bishops and priests, were to be subject to Augustine. The clergy were divided into bishops, priests, deacons and clerks.[4]

In order to make the transition from one faith to another more easy, Gregory had decided to use the heathen temples as places of Christian worship, instead of destroying them, as he had at first intended.[5] For the same reason, he advised the establishment of a new religious feast similar to one which had been a part of the heathen worship. The English had been accustomed to sacrifice cattle to their divinities, and now on some day of special note in the religious world they were to hold a feast in booths built of branches near the church.[6]

Thus had Gregory made a beginning toward the realization of his hopes. Augustine was laboring with a band of monks, as he wished, to the end that they might learn the rule of believing rightly and living well, and, fulfilling their office in faith and good manners, might

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 30-31.

[2] Letter to Augustine, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 29.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 14-17.

[4] The bishops were to be appointed in such a way that on an occasion of special importance, such as the ordination of a new bishop, they might easily come together. (Gregory to Augustine, A.D. 601, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 29.)

[5] Gregory to Mellitus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 37-38.

[6] Letter to Mellitus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 37-38.

attain to the heavenly kingdom.[1] But it was only a beginning; the king, who was always ready to help them, gave them lands,[2] and assisted them in their conference with the British bishops.[3] Probably at their suggestion he had written down judicial decrees, in which, first of all, he established the extent of the compensation which should be given by anyone who stole anything belonging to the church or its ministers.[4] As Gregory had written to Ethelbert that the Lord would more willingly hear Augustine's prayers in his behalf if he followed his directions, he very likely did both "willingly hear and devoutly perform" his instructions.[5] Yet it is to be feared that many of his subjects followed his example only nominally, as a reaction to paganism almost immediately followed his death. His son Eadbald, even when converted himself, had not sufficient authority to restore Mellitus to his church.[6] The next year the work was extended by building a monastery not far from Canterbury.

The first contact of the Roman mission in Britain with the native Celtic church came about through a conference called by Augustine in the hope of persuading them to join him in his work.[8] It was first necessary to come to an agreement in regard to the differences of practice between the two churches, since the Celts did not observe Easter at the same time as the Romans, and in various other ways differed from the Roman custom. They could not come to an agreement, however, and a second meeting led to no better result.[8]

The successor to Augustine's place was Laurentius, one of the monks sent by Gregory to aid Augustine.[7] He seems to have left a more vivid impression of his personality on the minds of the English than Augustine, for while Augustine is called in a general way the man of God, "beloved of God,"[8] Laurentius' unwearied labors, his frequent exhortations and perseverence were remembered up to the time of Bede. He made another appeal to the Scots and Britains, entreating them to conform to the Roman usages, but without success. The connection with Rome was kept up by Mellitus, who went to confer with the pope, in regard to the affairs of the church.[7] While

[1] Letter to Augustine, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 29.
[2] Charter to Rochester, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 52.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 2.
[4] Laws of Ethelbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 42.
[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1, c. 32.
[6] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 6.
[7] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 4.
[8] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 1, cc. 23 and 27, and bk. 2, c. 3.

he was there, he sat as the representative of the church in a synod of bishops, which was held to discuss the affairs of the monks. So for the first time the church of the English had a voice in the ecclesiastical councils of the day, and by its representative received the decrees of a Roman synod.[1]

After Ethelbert's death, there came sad days for his church, as his successors refused to accept their father's God. When the kingdom of the East Saxons also passed into pagan hands, the reaction became so fierce that Mellitus and Justus fled to France. Laurentius was about to follow, but, just before the time when he had intended to go, he succeeded in converting the ruler of Kent. Although this king did all in his power to promote the good of the church, he was not strong enough to restore Mellitus to his see. Mellitus soon took Laurentius' place as archbishop and, with Justus, governed the church for five years with much industry. Then Justus, consecrating Romanus to his place at Rochester, succeeded to the archbishopric.[2] The connection with Rome had been kept up, as a letter from the pope, which he sent with the pall to Justus, is still preserved to us.[3]

On the death of Eadbald, the government of Kent passed to his son, who had strength enough to force the people to forsake and destroy their idols, and observe the forty days fast before Easter. Although but few monasteries were built at this time, many, both men and women, went to the monasteries of the Franks for instruction.[4]

At the very time when Christianity was losing something of its hold in Kent, it gained an introduction into Northumbria, through the marriage of Ethelburga of Kent to Edwin, the head of the northern kingdom. Edwin had not yet become a Christian, but he promised that the queen and her followers should continue to worship in their own way. Accordingly, Paulinus, now a bishop,[5] was sent with Ethelburga to keep her in the faith. This Paulinus, with his tall stooping

[1] What the decrees were we do not know, for those which have been handed down to us are not authentic. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 62.) We only know that Mellitus did bring the decrees of this synod, which had been confirmed by him, together with letters from Boniface. (Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 4.)

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 6.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 72.

[4] Bedé, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 8.

[5] Paulinus was one of those mentioned above as sent by Gregory on the second mission to Britain. (Letters of Gregory, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 33-37.)

figure, black hair and thin face, was considered to have an aspect both venerable and majestic.[1] With this striking exterior went such a singleness of purpose that his mind was wholly bent upon calling to a knowledge of the truth the nation to which he was going.[1] Ethelburga, who was said to excel in good works, was disposed to give her assistance in the work of spreading the Christian faith.[2] Associated with them was James the deacon, "a man of great zeal in Christ's church"[3] and a fine singer after the Roman method.[4] The new faith required a strong representation in Northumbria, for it had to deal with a king who years afterward was remembered for his great sagacity.[1]

Paulinus had need of all his belief in the superiority of his own religion, for Edwin had no mind to change his belief without good reason. After careful instruction in the Christian faith, he "often sat alone by himself a long time, silent, trying to decide which religion was more worthy of his adherence.[1] Paulinus' efforts were seconded by letters from the pope to Edwin, and Ethelburga set forth the superiority of the Christian doctrine.[5] We do not wonder that the unlearned Englishman seemed more impressed by the certainty which Paulinus and his followers presented to him, as an element of their faith, than by the somewhat doctrinal epistle of the pope. When, by what seemed a practical demonstration, Paulinus first persuaded him of the efficacy of his prayers,[1] the king promised him that if the Lord gave him life and victory in the struggle upon which he was entering, he would change his religion. In proof of his sincerity, he consented to the baptism of his infant daughter.[6] When he found that he was indeed victorious, he did indeed give up his own religion, but still hesitated to accept Christianity. His final decision in its favor is attributed by Bede to the fulfillment of a vision which had appeared to him during his exile among the East Angles. According to his story, at a time when Edwin had fled from his country, and even in danger of losing his life, a stranger had appeared to him who had predicted that he would overcome his enemies and become more powerful than any former king of the English. When asked

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 9.
[2] Boniface to Ethelburga. Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 78-79.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 16.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 20.
[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III, pp. 75-79.
[6] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 12.

if he would then follow the advice of the one who had foretold his good fortune, Edwin promised to obey the man who should aid him in winning such success. Thereupon the stranger laid his hand upon his head and said: "When this sign shall be given you, remember this our conversation, and do not delay to fulfill your promises." Now to Paulinus, as Bede supposes, was revealed what had happened, and putting his hand on the king's head, he asked him if he recognized the sign. He pointed out that the prediction had now been fulfilled, and promised, if Edwin kept his word, that he should be saved from the everlasting torments of the wicked, and share the eternal kingdom of heaven.[1]

The motives of the English for changing their religion were as various as the characters of the men. The chief priest of the old religion was willing to change, because the gods of the old worship had not sufficiently rewarded the diligence of his service to them. He hoped that the new doctrine would be better and more efficacious.[2] The liberal promises of a reward in heaven at least, which had been made by the monks, appealed to this class of men. Another reason for change was given by one of them in language so poetic that it may be permissible to quote it in full: "So seems the life of man, O king, as a sparrow's flight through the hall, when a man is sitting at meat in wintertide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the chill rainstorm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it and what after it we know not. But if this new teaching tell us aught certainly of these, let us follow it."[3]

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 12. It is hard to understand exactly the meaning of this story. Bede is careful to attribute it to hearsay. If, as Mr. Stubbs thinks (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 75, note *a*), a previous mission of Paulinus to the kingdom of East Anglia is implied, we may perhaps conclude that the king recognized Paulinus and was struck with this new instance of the certainty of the knowledge of these Christians. Again, he may have considered the other conversation as a heavenly vision, and like Bede, supposing Paulinus' knowledge of it to be miraculous, have been led from that to adopt the wonderful doctrine. It may very likely be only a story which grew up to explain Edwin's sudden conversion, but even in that case it is interesting as showing the sort of thing that appealed to the English.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 13.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., book 2, ch. 13, Green's translation.

As the result of this conference, the king gave to Paulinus liberty to preach publicly, and the former high priest was the first to break the laws which formerly bound him. As the king and a large number of his subjects were instructed and baptized by Paulinus, the desire to hear of the new faith spread rapidly.[1] At one time we are told that for thirty-six days the bishop did nothing from morning till night but instruct and baptize the people who came out to him from all the villages and rural districts. The pope recognized his work by sending him a pall.[2]

The services of the church were simple, for there had been no opportunity to build oratories, fonts, and the other accessories of the more highly developed continental worship. Yet several churches were built at this time,[1] one of which, even after the improvements introduced into ecclesiastical architecture by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, was spoken of as of beautiful workmanship.[3] Among the precious possessions of Edwin were a large gold cross and golden chalice dedicated to the use of the altar.[2]

In a letter of exhortation to Edwin, the pope attributed his conduct as king to his knowledge of the Christian faith.[4] It was said that in his day the land was so peaceful that a woman with her babe might walk through the island from sea to sea without receiving any injury. To such an extent did the king's care for his people go, that he even caused drinking vessels to be hung at various springs near the highways for the convenience of travelers. It was a mark of the king's power that none dared to touch them for any purpose save that for which they were designed. A standard-bearer went before the king with a banner even in time of peace.[3] He was a good friend to his priests. It was partly at his request that the pope was induced to send the pall to Paulinus.[5] It was through his influence, too, that the king of the East Angles was induced to return to the Christian faith.[6]

At Edwin's death the kingdom was left at the mercy of the

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 14.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 17.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 16.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III,, p. 83.

[5] Letter to Honorius, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 84.

[6] It is difficult to tell just how much of Edwin's greatness was due to his religion. It would be assuming too much to attribute it all to that source without making allowance for the natural ability of the man.

heathen Penda of Mercia. Paulinus and Ethelburga fled to Kent, leaving only James the deacon to continue the work of teaching and baptizing in the church of York.[1]

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 20.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS OF IRISH CHRISTIANITY.

Let us turn now to Ireland, that "Isle of Saints and Sages" whose inhabitants did so much to aid the efforts of Augustine's followers. The true story of its great men has almost been crowded out by the mass of legend which the affection and imagination of succeeding generations has gathered about their names.

The first Christian missionary in Ireland of whom we have any definite knowledge is the world-renowned Saint Patrick. Before his time we have evidence of the existence of Christians on the island, but in general the country seems to have been pagan.* As to Patrick's early home, we only know what he has told us in his Confession and Epistle to Caroticus, that it was in the village of Bannaven,

* There are references in the chronicle of Prosper, A.D. 454-463, to Palladius, who was ordained bishop of the Irish by pope Celestine, but according to the book of Armagh, written about 700, his work was not successful. There have been many theories advanced in regard to the work attributed to Palladius and Patrick, some even contending that the men were identical (Loofs, DeAntiqua Brittonum Scottorumque Ecclesia, p. 51; Todd's Life of Saint Patrick, p. 306), but it is sufficient for our present purpose to know that the work was done, without entering into such vexed questions. The investigations of noted Irish scholars point to the conclusion that the native legend of Irish Christianity before Saint Patrick are untrustworthy, and the words of foreign writers which have been collected by Haddan and Stubbs furnish no proof of the existence of such a church. The writings of Patrick do not give the impression that the island was Christianized, although he says that he went to baptize or ordain clergy, or confirm the people in the faith, as if there had been such work in the more frequented parts. (Confession, p. 311.)

G. T. Stokes gives the following reasons for trusting Patrick's Confession and Epistle to Caroticus:

1. The mention of Decurions, "If the Epistle to Caroticus had been forged only a century later, the forger would have known nothing of Decurions, as the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire substituted their own local organization in the villages and small towns for that of the Romans." (Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, vol. I.)

2. The use of the plural word "Brittaniae," the correct designation

Taberniae,[1] but on its location critics are not agreed. Before he was sixteen years of age, he was taken captive and carried to Ireland.[1] There he probably tended cattle, and in his loneliness he used to spend days and nights in the woods in prayer.[2] At length in a dream he says he was told a way of escape, but when he was free and at home with his parents, he seems to have had another dream, in which he saw coming from Ireland a man who gave him a letter beginning: "The Voice of the Irish." He fancied he heard them begging him to come over and live among them.[3] From that time, he seems to have felt the spirit of God within him, continually impelling him to do his will. Marvelling at the signs and wonders which appeared to him,[4] and influenced by the study of the Gospel and its promises,[5] he felt bound to give to the Lord what he could, as a recompense for his mercies.[6] It was with a real feeling of reverence at the thought that he in his ignorance should be permitted to attempt to approach a work so pious and so wonderful[7] that he left his country and parents to make known to the Irish "the gift of God and his everlasting consolation, and without fear to spread faithfully everywhere the name of God."[2] To this end he determined to preach and to establish a clergy who should baptize and exhort the people.

The doctrine he taught agreed in most points with that of the Romans.[8] "There is no other God, neither ever was, neither be-

among the Romans for Britain, because it was divided in the fourth century, the age of Patrick's youth, into five provinces.

3. The quotations from an ante-Hieronymian version of the Bible in both documents.

4. Mention of married clergy.

5. Agreement of the style with that of Gregory of Tours.

6. The references to the events of the age correspond with facts known from other sources.

7. Absence of reference to miracles. (Introduction to Writinge of Patrick by C. H. H. Wright, p. 14.)

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 296.
[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 300.
[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 303.
[4] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 309.
[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 313.
[6] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 297.
[7] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 306.
[8] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., pp. 297-298.

fore, nor shall be hereafter, except God the Father, unbegotten without beginning. From whom is all beginning, upholding all things, as we have said; and his son Jesus Christ, whom indeed with the Father we testify to have always been, before the origin of the world, spiritually with the Father; in an inexplicable manner begotten before all beginning; and by Himself were made the things, visible and invisible, and was made man; and death having been vanquished, was received into the heavens to the Father, and He has given to Him all power above every name of those that are in heaven, on earth and under the earth, that every tongue should confess to Him that Jesus Christ is Lord and God, in whom we believe and expect His coming, to be ere long the Judge of the living and the dead, who will render to everyone according to his deeds, and He hath poured upon us abundantly 'the Holy Spirit,' a gift and pledge of immortality; who makes the faithful and obedient to become 'sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ'; whom we confess and adore — one God in the holy Trinity of the sacred name." The day of judgment when he should be obliged to render an account of all his sins before the divine tribunal was very real to him, and he held up to his people at once the joys of the eternal kingdom, reserved for those who did the will of Christ, and the terrors of the eternal punishment which would be the fate of transgressors.[1] Yet with the power, might and wisdom of God,[2] were inextricably blended in his conception the fatherly care and protection of Him who had protected and comforted him, as a father does a son.[3] In him the love of God and the fear of Him increased together.[5]

He counted it his greatest gift that he was permitted so to know God or to love Him that he could leave his country and parents and diligently and cheerfully travel to the most remote places to baptize and ordain clergy and confirm the people in the faith.[4] Snow, frost or rain did not dampen his ardor.[5] He braved every danger of murder, slavery or robbery, that with fear and reverence and without complaining he might serve the nation to which he was sent.[5] And that he did serve them, not merely by preaching and exhorta-

[1] Epistle to Caroticus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., pp. 317-319.

[2] Confession, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 321.

[3] Confession, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 297.

[4] Confession, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., pp. 305, 306 and 307.

[5] Confession, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 300.

tion, but with a fatherly affection which was most tender, is evident from his Epistle to Caroticus.

He not only admonished Caroticus and his soldiers to give satisfaction to God for their sins of murder and robbery, he charged his followers to refuse to eat with the robbers or accept alms of them.[1] He showed his hatred of avarice by refusing all gifts that were offered him,[2] and dispensing the rite of ordination gratuitously. We do not wonder that a eulogist said of him that he stimulated by his good deeds those whom he did not convert by his words.[3] The sons of the Irish and daughters of chieftains became monks and virgins, even against the will of their fathers, and slaves became Christians in spite of the threats of their masters. Many Christians were carried off into slavery, even when in the white robes of the newly baptized, and while the oil with which they were annointed still glistened on their foreheads.[4] Yet Ireland was being most auspiciously planted and instructed. The number of those baptized amounted to many thousand.[2]

Patrick was confessedly ignorant,[5] but he had intimate acquaintance with parts, at least, of the Bible and apocryphal books. Those of his writings which are left to us are in Latin; very bad Latin, to be sure, at least in the form in which it has come down to us,[6] but still an entering wedge, which was to open the way for a degree of learning which was to make the name of Ireland famous. If he really wrote the hymn attributed to him,[7] he felt it necessary to invoke the power of God against the incantations of false prophets, and the spells of women, smiths and druids, which would make it appear that his ignorance was accompanied by superstition. Allowing for all that, we still have left a sincerity of purpose, simplicity of faith and nobleness of life, the mark of which lends a peculiar charm to his written work in spite of its roughness and obscurity, and whose influence for good it is impossible to measure.

[1] Epistle to Caroticus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 315.

[2] Confession, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 310.

[3] Hymn of Secundinus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol., II., part II., p. 324.

[4] Epistle to Caroticus, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 314.

[5] At least that is the sense of the passage as it now stands, but the text is marked as uncertain. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 298, note 21.)

[6] The text of his writings is very corrupt.

[7] It was held to be St. Patrick's in the eighth century. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 323, note *a*.)

He was a great representative of the first order of Irish saints who broke the ground for later work. Indeed, he is the only one of whom we have a definite knowledge. The others are little known except as the subjects of imaginative tales which can hardly be dignified by the name of biographies. We have left, however, a general description of them written sometime before the middle of the eighth century, which states that they were 350 in number, founders of churches, and all bishops, either Roman, Frankish, British or Irish. They all acknowledged Christ as their head and Patrick as their leader. They observed one form of the mass, one celebration, one tonsure[1] and one Easter. What was excommunicated from one church was excommunicated from all. Most notable of all, they did not reject the services and companionship of women. It is noteworthy that in this description there is no mention of monks or monasteries.[2] Patrick, indeed, mentions monks and virgins, but his work appears to have been rather that of a missionary than a founder of monasteries.

It was the second order of Irish saints who made the country famous for its sanctity and learning. It was to them that England owed the recall of the North from the heathen reaction which followed the fall of the church of Paulinus and Edwin. A marked characteristic of this order seems to have been the monastic form which its efforts took. These saints are said to have received the manner of celebrating the mass from the British saints, David, Gildas and Cadoc,[3] who were connected with the monastic church of the British.[4] Gildas himself probably went on a mission to Ireland.[5] We have evidence that several of the Irish saints were instructed in the Welsh monastery of Candida Casa.[6] These men are described as differing among themselves in regard to the celebration of the mass and the rules by which they governed their lives, but they were agreed in acknowledging the Lord as their head in the time of ob-

[1] This was the Irish form, extending from ear to ear.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 292.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., p. 293. The legendary accounts of several Irish saints state that they studied in Britain, generally under some one of these three men. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 116, note.)

[4] Gildas' works. Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., pp. 108-115. Excerpta de Libro Sancti David, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 119.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 45, note, and p. 115, note.

[6] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 116, note. Also Life of Darerca, Acta Sanctorum, July, vol. II., p. 294.

serving Easter and in the form of their tonsure. They all rejected the services of women,[1] and excluded them from their monasteries.

If the lives of this second order of saints are filled with their excessive austerities, they also have much to say of the great number of them who devoted themselves to study and teaching.[2] We can get some idea of what they studied from the writings of the Irish Cummian, who in his Epistle to Segienus,[3] written in 634, shows a careful study of the Bible, with the help of Jerome, Augustine, Origin, Gregory and Cyprian. Besides, he knew something of church history, having looked into the religious customs of the Romans, Hebrews, Greeks and Egyptians. He had some knowledge of Greek and a good command of Latin, and had carefully studied the various cycles of Patrick, Anatolius, Theophilus, Dionysius, Cyril, Morinus, Augustine, Victorius and the Egyptian Pacominus. The Irish monasteries were like Christian colonies, forming a great ecclesiastical family within the tribe.

Their work became so famous that many English youths went to Ireland and devoted themselves to monastic life there, or spent their time in study, wandering from one cell to another. The Irish showed their generous, hospitable spirit and love of learning by supplying them with food, books and teaching without charge.[4]

One of the most important of the Irish monastic establishments of this period was that of Bangor, founded by Comgall, one of the second order of Irish saints. According to a statement in the life of the founder, so many monks flocked to him that it was necessary to build many cells and monasteries throughout various provinces.[5] The monks of Comgall became well known, not only in Ireland, but in foreign countries.

The hymn sung in his honor by later monks represent the first abbat of Bangor as a man well endowed with all monkish virtues, humble, kind, praiseworthy in morals, learned and pious.[6] The only

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., pp. 292-293.

[2] Life of Declan, Acta Sanctorum, July, vol. V., p. 596. Life of Kevin of Glendalough, Acta Sanctorum, June, vol. I., p. 306. Account of Mochta in Todd's Life of Patrick, pp. 29-31. Life of Laserian of Devenish, Acta Sanctorum, April, vol. II., p. 540.

[3] Migne's Patrólogia Latina, vol. LXXXVII., pp. 969-978.

[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. III., c. 27.

[5] Life of Comgall, Acta Sanctorum, May, vol. II., p. 582.

[6] Antiphonary of Bangor, Migne's Pat. Lat., vol. LXXII., pp. 593-597.

saying of his which we have came down to us in a quotation made by his famous pupil, Columbanus.[1] It shows at once the aim of the man and some of the difficulties he met in his work: "If the cultivator of land and husbandman, in preparing the soil to commit to it the seed, does not consider the work all done, when he has broken up the earth with a strong share, and by the action of the plow has reduced the stubborn soil, but further endeavors to cleanse the ground of unfruitful weeds, to clear it of injurious rubbish, and to pluck up by the root the spreading shoots of thorns and brambles, fully persuaded that his land will never produce a good crop, unless it be reclaimed from mischievous plants, applying to himself the words of the prophet: 'Break up your fallow ground and sow not among thorns.' How much more does it behoove us, who believe the hope of our fruits to be laid up, not on earth, but in Heaven, to cleanse from vicious passions the field of our heart, and not suppose that we have done enough when we subdue the ground of our bodies by the labour of fasting and of watching, unless we primarily study to correct our vices and reform our morals."

Under this man, Columbanus and many other youths prepared themselves to become teachers of others. They probably spent much time, as did Comgall in his youth,[2] in learning psalms and hymns, and by prayer and fasting, and self-sacrifice, trying to become followers of Christ.[3] Here they learned to look to God as the illuminator of darkness, and founder of the elements, their hope and salvation and aid in tribulation, defender of souls.[4] The hymns of the monks show a careful and minute study of the Old and New Testament. Whatever was miraculous in them seemed particularly impressive, while the poetic imagery of the Hebrew writings left its impress on their literary style. We have an Antiphonary of Bangor which gives collects for the various canonical hours, and numerous

[1] Second Instruction of Columbanus, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXX., pp. 233-234. Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall, who flourished in 890, thus identifies the Latin Faustus with the Irish equivalent: "Columba cum plurimos discipulos sanctitatis suae pares habuisset, unum tamen, Comgellum Latine Fausti nomine illustrem praeceptorem B. Columbani magistri domini patris nostri Galli, etc. (Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. I., p. 174.)

[2] Life of Comgall, Acta Sanctorum, May, vol. II., p. 579.

[3] Life of Columbanus, Migne's Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXVII., p. 106.

[4] Antiphonary of Bangor, Migne's Pat. Lat., vol. LXXII., p. 598.

hymns and prayers.[1] There, as in other[1] monasteries, the giving of alms was a recognized duty. An extract from a hymn on the Rule of Bangor will give an idea of how the monastic life seemed to them. "The good rule of Bangor, upright and divine, strict, holy, careful, altogether just and wonderful. Munther Bangor the blessed, founded on a certain faith, adorned with the hope of salvation, of perfect charity, a ship never disturbed, although beaten by the waves, prepared for her nuptials, the bride of the Lord the king. A house full of delights, built upon a rock, and also a true vine brought out of Egypt, certainly a firm city, strong and fortified, glorious and worthy, placed upon a mountain."

From this monastery, two noteworthy missionaries went to Britain, Comgall the abbat and founder, who, besides paying visits to Iona, stayed for a time at a monastery which he founded in the region of Heth,[3] and Maelrubha, his kinsman, who founded a monastery at Applecross in 673, and was abbat there for fifty-one years. He acquired so great a reputation for sanctity that he was regarded as the patron saint of that part of Scotland, both in islands and on the mainland.[4]

If the accounts of Bangor give us an idea of the religious life of an Irish monastery, those of Hy supplement it by a view of the working machinery of such an institution. Off the west coast of Scotland lies the island of Hy, whose solitude and silence, broken only by the songs of the birds and the noise of the waves, made it an ideal place for the sixth century monk. Here, in 563, came the Irish Columba with twelve disciples,[5] dressed in rough garments, and carrying the long staffs which seem to have accompanied the Irish missionaries everywhere.[6] Their hair at the back of the head was long and flowing, but on the top was shaved close to the head back to a line ex-

[1] Antiphonary of Bangor, Migne's Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXVII., pp. 585-606. The memorial of the abbats of Bangor, written at the end of the Antiphonary, closes with a notice of Cronan, who is thought to have lived in the latter part of the seventh century; vide Migne, vol. LXXII., p. 582, and Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. I., p. 171.

[2] Life of Comgall, Acta Sanctorum, May, vol. II., p. 582.

[3] Article on Maelrubha by William Reeves, in Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, vol. III., pp. 261-264, taking material from Irish accounts.

[4] Reeves' Introduction to Adamnan's Life of Columba, p. LXXI.

[5] Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, p. 162. Reeves as above, p. CXVIII. Life of Columba, by Adamnan, bk. 2, c. 25.

tending from ear to ear.[1] The leader was one of the second order of Irish saints who from childhood had been trained by men devoted to the service of God.[2] He is said to have studied under Finbarr, of Maghbile,[3] who was educated at Candida Casa,[4] and under Finian of Clonard, who was of those deriving their system from Gildas, Cadoc, and David.[4 5] Already the founder of a number of monasteries in Ireland,[6] Columba decided to make a settlement on the island of Hy. From the account of his biographer, Adamnan, we can get a reasonably clear picture of this establishment.[7]

Of the buildings mentioned on the island, the most important was the church of two rooms, in which was an altar. Judging from the remains of similar structures, it was extremely simple and rude in style, very slightly ornamented.[8] The windows were small, splayed inside to admit as much light as possible.[9] The only claim to beauty which these early churches possessed appears to have been their fitness for the purpose for which they were designed, since there was nothing in them to distract the attention of the worshipper.[10]

[1] Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, p. 162.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. II., part II., 293. Adamnan's Life of Columba, bk. III., c. III.; bk. II., c. IXXVI.

[3] Adamnan's Life of Columba, bk. II., c. 1.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 120.

[5] Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. II., p. 53. Reeves' Introduction to Adamnan, p. XXXV.

[6] Quotation from Irish Life of Columba, in Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. II., pp. 53-55. Also, Reeves' Introduction to Adamnan, pp. XLIX.-LX.

[7] Although Adamnan wrote a century after Columba, the incidental references which he makes to the customs of the place may probably be taken as true of Columba's time also, as he was abbat of Hy, and not only had the best of opportunities for getting traditional accounts, but was also familiar with all the little incidents of a life which could not have changed much since Columba's day.

[8] We do not know what material was used in its construction. The monastic buildings in the northern and eastern parts of Ireland, and at least sometimes in the other parts, are supposed to have been of stone (Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 188, 420 and 421), but as Adamnan indicates that some of the other buildings on the island were of wood, it is more likely that the monks used that material throughout. In that case, there was probably no other difference between the stone and the wooden buildings.

[9] Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 170, 180-183, 188. For plates in illustration, see Lord Dunraven's Notes on Irish Architecture.

[10] Petrie's Round Towers, p. 190.

The dwelling of the abbat was naturally the most prominent of the houses of the monks. It was a small hut, built with joists on high ground, and furnished with a lock and key. It had, in Columba's time, a bare flag for a couch, and for a pillow a stone. The other monks had huts built of wood or wattles, which probably, like the cells of monks in Ireland, were so small as to accommodate but a single person. They were furnished with beds having pallets and pillows. After the Irish custom, these buildings were enclosed by a wall, probably of circular form.[1]

Here, Columba and his monks attempted so to live as to offer to the people about them an example of their ideal of Christian manhood. Here they tried to increase in good conduct and the virtues of the soul, and to become versed in the Holy Scriptures. Adamnan has given us many hints of the domestic life of the establishment.

Among the occupations of the monks, agriculture seems to have taken a prominent place. Adamnan pictures them for us as familiar with most of the varied tasks which occupy a modern farmer, as plowing, sowing, reaping, winnowing and gathering the grain into barns. There was also a kiln for grinding corn. They had cows which were milked in a cow shed, from which the milk was brought in pails to the monastery, either on the back of some one connected with the institution or by a packhorse. The horse, however, does not appear to be used about the harvesting. That the monks were quite skillful workers in metal is evident from the fact that they were able to melt down a piece of iron and put a coating of it onto knives. Their insular position made it necessary for them to use boats almost constantly. Various kinds are mentioned by Adamnan; some of them of wood, and some covered with leather. In some cases they were provided with both sails and oars. They also used leather to make water bottles for use at sea. The work for which the monks of Columba became most famous was the transcription of books, and Columba himself was noted for his taste for reading and skill in writing.[2]

There seems to have been a certain organization among the monasteries founded by this saint. We have several notices of his visits to monasteries which have been attributed to him, and sometimes he

[1] Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 418-419. Also Introduction to Reeves' Adamnan, p. CXXI. It is not unlikely that there was also a separate kitchen and refectory.

[2] Irish life of Columba, quoted in Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. II. p. 407.

gave orders as to their administration. He was always regarded with veneration by the monks. In his own monastery of Hy, he was treated with the utmost reverence as the acknowledged leader. He exacted implicit obedience from those under his care, but had the reputation of being very thoughtful of them. He regulated their departure from the monastery, corrected their faults, prayed with them when ill, and had general charge of the religious life of the community. This consisted of twelve monks at first, but more later youths who were studying there, and frequent visitors. Like the other Irish saints of his time, Columba was a presbyter, so that his monks called in help when they wanted a bishop's office performed.

The Sabbath and Saints' days were festival days and marked by rest from labor, better food and the celebration of the mass. There seem also to have been other services during the week, day and night, at which the singing of hymns and psalms formed an important element. Both Columba and the brethren were given to prayer in solitary places. Easter and Christmas were also observed, the former, especially, being the great festival of the year. On special occasions, the abbat summoned the monks to prayer by the sound of a bell.[1]

Of the burial services we only know they lasted three days and nights, while the praises of God were sung. Then the body was wrapped in a shroud of linen, placed in a coffin and buried with due reverence.

Aside from the power of the example set by himself and his monks, Columba exercised considerable influence over those about him. Said to be of noble birth himself, he was the honored friend of kings and princes. He did not, however, confine his efforts to those in authority. The poor, exiles, prisoners, and even slaves were the objects of his care. He has the name, too, of being the patron of the native literature.[2]

In his direct teaching, he rebuked the sins of murder, adultery, avarice, dishonesty. He urged the necessity of heartfelt repentance,

[1] This was probably the tall tapering iron implement with flattened ends and bulging sides, and a looped handle, which was peculiar to the Celtic church. (Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, vol. I., p. 214.)

[2] Adamnan speaks as if he had been accustomed to listen to the poet Cronan, and a later Irish life tells of his defense of the Irish literary men against the enmity of the king. (Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. II., pp. 495-496. Also O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, vol. III., p. 245.)

shown often by submission to a state of penance. The chief object in his mind was apparently to bring the people to live good lives, that they might attain to the heavenly kingdom. The giving of alms was especially recommended. It is noteworthy that he did not encourage the disregard of family ties, although the monastic life seems to have been considered the more blessed, and the canons of the Irish church show that the Irish clergy were not allowed to marry.[1]

The example set by the first monks of Hy was followed by their successors. During the reign of Edwin of Northumbria, it was the chief monastery of the northern Scots and Picts. Its monks were noted for their continency, love of God, observance of monastic rule, and for their possession of the grace of charity.[2]

[1] Loofs, DeAntiqua Brittonum Scottorumque Ecclesia, p. 82, quoting from Wasserschleben's Collection of Irish Canons.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 4.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PAGAN REACTION TO THE COMING OF THEODORE.

The life of the Irish monks has great interest to the student of English history, because it was through their agency that Northumbria was finally Christianized. The efforts of Paulinus during Edwin's reign had had no lasting effect, as the conquest of the country by the Mercian king Penda, and the Briton Cadwalla, was followed by a pagan reaction.[1] The man who next came to the throne was Oswald, who during the reign of Edwin had been in exile among the Scots.[2] He had there received baptism and had been carefully instructed in the Christian religion, probably by the monks of Hy.[3]

His training showed itself constantly in his humility and generosity to the poor.[4] His custom of constant prayer became proverbial.[5]

One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to send to Hy for a man who should instruct the English nation in the Christian faith.[6] On the failure of the first teacher, Aidan, a man of greater discretion was sent,[4] who obtained not only the ear of the king, but that of the people as well. Oswald's money and lands were given freely for the cause. He built several new churches,[6] in addition to finishing the one begun by Edwin.[7] A close connection with Irish thought and life was brought about by the great influx of Irish monks to Britain.[5] The king even gave his time to act as interpreter to Aidan. It was well for the people that his desire for a heavenly kingdom did not hinder his efforts to make the most of his earthly sovereignty, since the comparative peace which he brought about by the union of Bernicia and Deira[8] gave Aidan a better chance to work.

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 1; and bk. 2, c. 20.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 1.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 3; Adamnan's Life of Columba, bk. 1, c. 1.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 5.
[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 12.
[6] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 3.
[7] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 2, c. 20.
[8] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 6.

Aidan was eminently well fitted for the work which he had undertaken both by the natural tact, which caused him to modify his doctrine to suit the needs of his hearers, and by the consistency of his doctrine and his life.[1] "A man of singular piety, meekness and moderation,"[2] his zeal in reading the Scriptures, writing and learning psalms, made him a model for future generations.[1] Men spoke with astonishment of one who cared more for these occupations than for a royal banquet; who kept all his gifts for the poor, and did not even reserve for himself a horse given him by the king.[3] His zeal woke an answering enthusiasm in those about him, so that his frequent journeys of instruction found their reward in the monasteries that were built, and the joy with which the people flocked to hear him.[2] His principal monastery was on the Isle of Lindisfarne, which came to rival in reputation that of Hy. There he took twelve English boys and gave them a Christian education. He also ransomed slaves and educated them for the priesthood. Although kings and great men sometimes came to Lindisfarne to worship, the place was remarkable for its frugality, as the monks had only enough for their necessities, giving everything superfluous to the poor.[4] Aidan's influence was so great that even the king accepted reproof from him.[5] Like Bede, we can commend as praiseworthy his love of peace and charity; his continence and humility; his mind, superior to anger and avarice, and despising pride and vainglory; his industry in teaching and keeping the heavenly commandments; his diligence in reading and watching; his authority becoming a priest in reproving the haughty and powerful; and at the same time his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor.[6]

In the meantime the province of the East Angles came into the possession of Sigebert, who had lived for some time in France.[7] He had been so impressed with the religious institutions of that country that he wished to imitate them in his own. With the aid of Felix,

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 5.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 3.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, cc. 5 and 14.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 26.
[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 14.
[6] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 17.
[7] This province had twice before been under the rule of Christian kings, only to fall again into pagan hands.

a Burgundian, who had lived in Kent for some time, he established a school for boys, where letters were taught as in Kent. Felix also instructed the people in the Christian faith.[1] Unfortunately, however, as to many religious men of the time, the heavenly kingdom seemed to the king so separated from his earthly life that he lost all interest in the affairs of the realm, and retired to a monastery which he had built. Even the attack of the pagan Penda failed to move him.[2]

East Anglia was particularly unfortunate in this regard, for Fursey, who had come from Ireland to preach to them, making war upon discord and robbery, and endeavoring to make those who were Christians live up to their professions.[3] He was so impressed with the superiority of heavenly things to the riches of this world that he left the monastery which he had founded, to end his life as a hermit.

During the reign of Sigebert's successor, Anna, East Anglia was permanently added to the number of Christian provinces.[2] It was through his efforts that Coinwalch, of the West Saxons, whose father had been converted by the Roman monk Birinus, was led to be baptized. The first bishop of the West Saxons was Agilbert, a man who from his study in Ireland had gained a high ideal of a bishop's life.[4]

Paeda, prince of the Middle Angles, was baptized by the bishop of Lindisfarne, and received into his province four good and learned priests to instruct the people. His father Penda did not hinder the instruction of the Mercians.[5]

The influence of the monks of Lindisfarne also spread into the country of the East Saxons, where the monks of Gregory had been unable to make a lasting impression. Through the arguments of Oswy, Oswald's successor in Northumbria, Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, had been persuaded that gods of wood and stone were not fit objects of worship. He was so impressed by Oswy's presentation of a God in heaven, incomprehensible and invisible, almighty

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 17.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 18.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 19.

[4] He thought Wilfrid worthy of a bishopric, because he was described as humble and quiet, occupied with fasting and prayer, kind, sober, modest, pitiful, full of authority and of the grace of God, prudent, not wine-bibbing, teachable and a good teacher, pure and frank of speech. (Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. 9.)

[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 24.

and eternal, the creator of heaven and earth and of mankind, who governed and judged the world in righteousness, and would in all probability reward those who did his will, that, together with his friends, he was baptized by Finan.[1] Of the teachers whom he called to instruct his people, Cedd, a monk of Lindisfarne, who had been at work among the Middle Angles, was so successful that he was ordained bishop of the East Saxons by Finan. Before his ordination, he had brought many of the people to his way of thinking, and he made use of his new authority in founding an organized church. With the aid of the king, he built churches, ordained priests and deacons, and founded a monastery. He also had a monastery in Northumbria, which followed the religious customs of Lindisfarne.[2]

Meanwhile, Oswy had gained a decisive victory over Penda, and a series of bishops won the province of Mercia over to the Irish faith.[3]

By 664, then, the teachings of Irish or Italian monks had won a recognized place in most of the provinces of England; Northumbrians, Middle Angles, East Saxons and Mercians were under the instruction of followers of the Irish faith; the West Saxons had been instructed by Frenchmen; the men of Kent by Italians; and the East Angles by both parties. We have noted several attempts at union between the Italian and British monks. The Christians of the North of Ireland shared the peculiarities of belief professed by their neighbors in Britain. They had shown so much zeal in extending the knowledge of their faith, that it seemed best for both parties to come to an agreement in regard to the various points on which there was difference of opinion. These differences seem to us very slight, as there was no essential difference in the doctrine of the two parties. Their methods of work were much the same, and both were ardent lovers of the miraculous, and had great reverence for saints and relics.[4]

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 22.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, cc. 22-23.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 24.

[4] There were also several minor differences in the details of church service. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., pp. 154-155.) The Irish writers also used a slightly different version of the Scriptures (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. I., p. 170), but the only points which stood in the way of the essential unity of the church were the two first mentioned.

The chief points of disagreement were on the time of celebrating Easter, and the form of the tonsure. Pope Honorius, and later John, who afterward became pope, had sent letters to the Irish, remonstrating against their heresy. There is also extant an elaborate epistle from the Irish Cummian to Segienus, abbat of Hy, giving arguments in favor of the Roman method. He made an appeal for unity, ridiculing the Irish, who, comparatively speaking, were as a little spot at the end of the earth, for venturing to say: "Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, all the world errs, the Irish and Britons alone are right."[1]

The controversy was at last settled for England by a synod, held at Whitby in 664, at which the kings of Northumbria, Oswy and his son, bishop Colman of Lindisfarne with his Irish followers, Agilbert of France and his followers, and Romanus from Kent, and Cedd of the East Saxons met with the abbess Hilda, the head of the monastery of Whitby. Colman was spokesman for the Irish party, while Wilfrid, a former pupil at Lindisfarne, upheld the Roman customs. In spite of his early instruction in the Irish monastery, he was well qualified to set forth the opposite view, as he had spent some time in Rome, under the instruction of the archdeacon Boniface, from whom he learned the Roman side of the Easter controversy. He had received the Roman tonsure at Lyons on the way home.[2]

The points in question were thoroughly discussed, and at the end almost all agreed to follow the Roman method. Those who refused to accept this judgment withdrew to Ireland under the leadership of Colman. After their withdrawal, Eata, one of the twelve boys who studied under Aidan, was appointed to the abbacy of Lindisfarne. He won the hearts of the people in his charge by the zeal with which he devoted himself to his tasks, and by the frequency and intensity of his prayers and exhortations, and the generosity of his alms.[3]

This decision at Whitby meant more than mere uniformity in the tonsure and the time of observing Easter. We have seen that the Columban monasteries looked up to Columba as their head, and

[1] Cummian's Letter to Segienus, Migne's Pat. Lat., vol. 87, pp. 969-978.

[2] Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, cc. 1-7.

[3] Life of Eata by an unknown writer. (Publications of the Surtees Society for 1838, vol. II., p. 123.)

that there was a sort of loose organization among them. This was also the case in other foundations, so that the Irish, instead of acknowledging one head, as did the followers of Augustine, worked in distinct groups and were thus deprived of the culture and progress which was to be found in Western Christendom.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH UNDER THEODORE.

In the third year after the synod of Whitby, it became necessary to choose an archbishop for England. Oswy of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent sent a letter to the pope asking that Wighard, whom the English had chosen as a suitable person for the position, might be consecrated archbishop. The man at the head of the English church, and having the power of ordaining bishops throughout the country, would thus be a native of the island, and able to speak its language. As Wighard died before this request could be granted, the pope took the liberty of appointing a man of his own choice. He finally selected Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, who was well versed in both secular and sacred literature, and familiar with Latin and Greek. With him was sent an African monk, Hadrian, likewise well educated and experienced in monastic and ecclesiastical discipline. His duty was to see that Theodore introduced into Britain nothing contrary to the Roman custom.[1]

On his arrival, Theodore immediately set himself to bringing the church of the English into conformity with Roman usages. One of his first acts was to visit in person all parts of the island under his dominion,[2] settling bishops wherever he found it necessary, and correcting such things as were not according to the rule of the church in general.[3] He even deposed a disobedient bishop from his see.[4] He also increased the number of bishops by dividing dioceses.

It was a great step forward in the direction of unity of action when Theodore began to call together regular synods to discuss ecclesiastical questions. The first one, which met at Hertford, brought together, either in person or by deputy, all the bishops of the Anglo-Saxon church, except the bishop of London, and with them many religious teachers of lesser rank.[5] They formally ac-

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 1.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 2.
[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 118, note a.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 6.
[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 121, note b.

cepted the canons of the general church for their observance, to the end that their action might be united. Among the canons especially mentioned were those limiting the authority of bishops to their own diocese, and making the wanderings of the monk or clergyman subject to his abbat or bishop. There was also provision for the protection of monasteries against exactions from bishops. Especially noteworthy was the provision for a similar meeting each year.[1] Another English synod mentioned by Bede is one that met at Hatfield several years later to examine matters of doctrine. The report of this gathering is interesting, not only as evidence of the organized effort of the church, but also as the expression of the acknowledged basis of theological belief. The orthodox faith was said to be grounded upon the teachings of Christ, the creed of the fatyes, the decisions of all holy and universal synods, and the belief of approved doctors of the Catholic church.[2]

There is extant a penitential which purports to be a collection of answers given by Theodore to questions on the subject of penance.[3] It bears evidence of an attempt to bring about uniformity of practice in the various observances of the church as well as to correct the prevalent vices of the time. The chrism and Eucharist were denied to those keeping the Irish customs in regard to Easter and the tonsure.[4] The church held itself so removed from heretics that a monk was not obliged to obey his abbat, if directed to celebrate the mass for a deceased heretic.[5] The duties and privileges of the various orders of clergy were carefully defined.[6] Directions were given for the celebration of the mass,[7] for the rites of ordination,[8] baptism,[9] and confirmation.[10] The relation of an abbat to his monks and bishop were outlined.[11] Penalties were laid down for those who did not properly observe the Lord's day. Marriages and the services for the

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 5.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 17.

[3] It was probably drawn up with his authority. For full discussion see Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 173-176.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 197.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 181.

[6] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 191.

[7] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 186.

[8] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 192.

[9] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 189.

[10] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 193.

[11] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 195.

burial of the dead were reckoned as religious ceremonies.[1] The work of organization was important, but what was new to the English in the penitential was the idea that murder, theft, etc., were sins against the God whom they worshipped, and must be expiated by penance under the direction of a religious teacher. If penance was not always accompanied by penitence, it was meant to be the outward sign of it, and the physical discomfort probably brought the idea of his guilt home to the rough Englishman better than it could have been done in any other way. The severity of the penance was graded, not according to the rank of the person involved, but according to the motive which prompted the deed, the circumstances under which it was committed, and the religious professions of the parties concerned. Special efforts were made to put a stop to the sins of murder,[2] theft,[3] perjury,[4] adultery,[5] worship of other gods,[6] intemperance,[7] and transgression of the rules of the church. There was no attempt to bring the people to follow the monkish example of celibacy, but the penitential of Theodore did attempt to put restrictions upon marriage and divorce.[8] They also limited the age at which a child could be sold as a slave, or a youth be allowed to make himself a slave. The master was forbidden to take from a slave money that he had earned by his own labor.[9] There was, of course, no attempt to abolish slavery. It was even set down as a penance for a certain class of offenses,[8] and a bishop or abbat could keep a criminal as a slave.[10] The bishop had judicial power over the cases of the poor up to a certain limit.[11] The sanctity of everything connected with the church was impressed on the minds of the people. Even the wood of the church building was sacred. The officers were to be deposed for sin.[12]

Along with this internal organization came a closer connection

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 194.
[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 180.
[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 179.
[4] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 182.
[5] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 178.
[6] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 189.
[7] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 177.
[8] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 199.
[9] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 202.
[10] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 191.
[11] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 190-191.
[12] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 184.

with the Roman see and the church of the continent. We have seen that Theodore's appointment was due to the pope, and that the pupil of Aidan as well as the follower of Gregory wished the archbishop to be ordained by him. The interest in the Roman church became so great that Oswy of Northumbria had planned to go to Rome, wishing to die at the holy places.[1] Cadwalla of Wessex did die there soon after his baptism.[2] St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury and later the monasteries of Weremouth and Yarrow sought and obtained bulls of privilege from the Roman see, which, in the case of the northern monastery at least, were afterward confirmed by the king and bishops in synod.[3]

Not unnaturally, one of the staunchest believers in the authority of the Roman see was that Wilfrid whom we have noticed as spokesman at the synod at Whitby. We shall see that he was ready to put his belief into practice. He had been elected bishop of York, and when Theodore took advantage of the personal enmity of the king and queen of Northumbria to extend his division of bishoprics to that province, and by virtue of his archi-episcopal authority to divide Wilfrid's diocese among three bishops, Wilfrid resolved to appeal to the pope at Rome. Theodore also sent letters there. The authority of that tribunal, however, does not seem to have found equal recognition among many of Wilfrid's enemies, since the decision of a Roman synod in his favor was rejected and Wilfrid was put in prison. After nine months he was released, and Theodore, before his death, expressed his regret for his treatment of Wilfrid. He sent letters to the kings of Northumbria and Mercia, interceding in Wilfrid's behalf with such success that Wilfrid was restored to a part of his former possessions.[4]

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 5.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 7.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 123. Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, pp. 155-156.

[4] It is noteworthy that, while in Rome, Wilfrid had taken part in a council and signed as a representative of the English, British and Irish churches. Disagreement on this question of the extent of the archbishop's authority and that of the Roman see continued to agitate the English church after Theodore's death. During the archbishopric of Berthwald, another quarrel arose between Wilfrid and the king, one reason for which was his unwillingness to be bound by the decrees of Theodore. He asked the bishops assembled in synod how they dared to prefer the decrees of Theodore to the statutes of the popes. On hearing their intention to de-

During Theodore's archbishopric the Mercians received Chad as their bishop. He was also bishop of Lindisfarne, and is described as a man of exceeding humility, remarkable for his sense of the continual presence of God. This made him very zealous in prayer and the work of teaching.[1]

It was in missionary work that Wilfrid showed the best side of his character. The only part of Britain, inhabited by the English, which was not nominally Christian before the coming of Theodore was that held by the South Saxons. The king and queen of this province had been baptized, and five or six Irish monks lived there, but they had not succeeded in getting a hold on the minds of the people. In 681, Wilfrid went there with some priests, and established a monastery on an island given him by the king. The inhabitants of the island, even to the slaves whom he set free from servitude, were instructed by him.[2] He is said also to have taught the people the art of fishing. Wilfrid made provision as well for the Christian instruction of a part of the Isle of Wight.[3]

The man of this time whose life most appeals to the imagination is Saint Cuthbert. Trained under monastic discipline, he had spent much time in reading, watching and praying, subject to the order of an abbat. He had cultivated the gracious side of the monastic character in showing to strange visitors the kindly hospitality which was characteristic of the monks.[4]

The first part of his life was divided between the work of a monk

prive him of all except his monastery at Ripon, Wilfrid again appealed to Rome. He explained that he had not, as was claimed, expressed contempt for the decrees of the archbishop, but had refused to bind himself to observe any decrees which might be passed. He expressed his readiness to obey any decrees which were not contrary to the statutes, rules, and canonical definitions of the fathers, and the synodical decrees of Agatho and his successors. Again he received a favorable decision, and the archbishop in obedience to the papal command called a synod to decide the matter. A compromise was finally effected. The great difference of opinion on the extent of the authority of Rome over England is seen in the views of the two parties in this quarrel; Wilfrid, appealing to Rome as the highest authority, and the king and archbishop counting him more blameworthy because he preferred the judgment of the Roman authorities to their own. (Eddius' Life of Wilfrid.)

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 3.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 13.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 16.

[4] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c. 7.

and that of a missionary teacher. Although nominally Christian, the people of Northumbria were far from understanding the truths of Christianity. Some of them were even opposed to the monks. Cuthbert spent sometimes a month wandering through these sparsely settled mountainous districts, instructing the people who flocked to hear him.[1] At Lindisfarne, he devoted himself to the task of teaching to the monks the monastic rules and rousing them to follow his example in preaching among the neighboring people.[2] The lives of those about him showed the influence of his sternness toward sin, and charity for the penitent.

It was characteristic of the religious feeling of the time that Cuthbert counted it a more blessed life to retire from this work and spend the rest of his days in a solitary place, wrestling with the old enemy of mankind. That he fixed on the island of Farne as his residence was considered a fresh proof of his sanctity, since that spot had always been shunned as the abode of malicious spirits. There in a hut of two rooms, surrounded by a high wall of rough stones and turf, so that he could see nothing but the sky, he made his home for many years. He built another house on the island for visitors, and at first spent part of his time in waiting upon them.[3] Afterward, although always ready to administer blessing and consolation to any that came to him, he lived a more secluded life. He was with difficulty persuaded to leave the island to assume the office of a bishop. When once ordained, however, he did a work which must have been needed in that half-civilized country, in protecting the weak from the strong and caring for the poor.[4]

It is in the account of his life that we have the first mention of the use of places in England which were counted as holy by the Christians as asylums for fugitives. Just before his death, Cuthbert said that he wished his body to remain at the place of his hermitage, on account of the fugitives and criminals who might flee to his corpse for refuge. When they had thus obtained an asylum, he thought the monks might think it necessary to intercede for them before the secular rulers.[5]

The English churchmen did not confine their efforts to the work

[1] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c, 9.
[2] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c. 16.
[3] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c. 22.
[4] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c. 26.
[5] Bede, Life of St. Cuthbert, in prose, c. 37.

of organization and the spread of their faith. With Theodore and Hadrian came a new impulse to intellectual work. They gathered together numerous pupils who wished to be instructed in astronomy, arithmetic, and the art of ecclesiastical poetry, as well as the books of the Bible. As anyone who desired to study sacred writings had at hand masters who would teach him, there grew up a set of Englishmen who knew Latin and Greek as well as their own tongue. The study of sacred music, too, became popular all over the country.[1]

The man who perhaps did as much as anyone to aid in this movement was Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian nobleman who had traveled on the continent a great deal, and had received the tonsure at the monastery of Lerins. After two years' study there, he returned to England as the companion and interpreter of Theodore. After presiding for two years over the monastery of Saint Peter, at Canterbury, he made another journey to Rome. Returning with a large number of books on sacred literature, he was given land for a monastery by the king of Northumbria.

He spared no pains to make the monasteries which he built at Weremouth and at Yarrow answer to the ideal which he had formed in visiting many such institutions in foreign countries. The church at Weremouth, which was built by masons from Rome,[2] had glazed windows made by glass makers whom he summoned from Gaul. By frequent journeys to Rome, he obtained all the vestments, sacred vessels, and other things necessary for the service of the church, as well as books, relics, and pictures for the adornment of the church. On boarding placed from one wall to the other were pictures of the Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles, on another wall figures from ecclesiastical history, and on a third, illustrations of the Revelation of Saint John. Around the chapel in this monastery were pictures from the history of Christ.[3]

The pictures in the other monastery were intended to describe the connection of the Old and New Testament. One of them represented Isaac carrying wood for his own sacrifice, and Christ bearing his cross. In another the serpent raised up by Moses in the desert was illustrated by the Son of Man exalted on his cross.[4]

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 2.

[2] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, pp. 139-144. These workmen taught their trade to the English.

[3] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, p. 145.

[4] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, p. 149.

Benedict had asked that the library he had collected be kept together, and the number of books was doubled under his successors,[1] so that the monasteries of Weremouth and Yarrow probably boasted more books than any other in the country.

At the suggestion of the pope, John, the arch-chanter of the church of Saint Peter's at Rome, had been enstalled there as teacher of ecclesiastical music. He not only taught the monks the Roman method of chanting, but committed to writing the services for all the festivals of the year. The monastery thus became a sort of school for singing, to which pupils came from most of the other monasteries in the province.[2]

The whole time of the monks was not given up to study, however, for under the rule by which they lived a part of the time must be spent in manual labor. The monks had a bakehouse, garden and kitchen; they plowed the fields, threshed and winnowed the grain, milked cows, and on occasion worked in metal.[3]

Wilfrid of York, too, did much to make beautiful the places of Christian worship, travelling about with singers, masons, and artisans.[4] He improved the church at York by roofing it with lead and putting in glass windows. At Ripon, he built a basilica of stone, with various columns and porticoes, and with ornaments of gold, silver and purple. He also presented this church with a cross and a fine copy of the Gospels on purple parchment, with a covering of gold and gems.[5] His church at Hexham was said not to have its equal on that side of the Alps. It is described as having crypts of stone and walls of wonderful depth and height, ornamented with columns and porticoes.[6]

During the time of Theodore's administration, Bede makes mention of several women at the head of monasteries, as for instance Ethelburga at the head of the monastery at Barking, in the province of the East Saxons,[7] and Etheldreda at Ely.[8] These monasteries were not simply nunneries, but had a part in which men resided, under the direction of the same abbess. It was apparently

[1] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, p. 155.
[2] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, p. 144.
[3] Bede, Lives of the Abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow, pp. 147-148.
[4] Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. 14.
[5] Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. 16.
[6] Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. 22.
[7] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, cc. 6-10.
[8] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, cc. 19-20.

a well established custom to have both sexes under one head, for in the penitential of Theodore, the clause: "(among the Greeks) men are not permitted to have women as nuns, nor women to have monks; yet let us not do away with that which is customary in this land;" seems to refer to this practice.[1]

There was another famous monastery at Whitby which was in charge of a woman, the noted Hilda. Hilda was a pupil of Aidan and her monastery was a school in which to learn the virtues of justice, piety, chastity, peace and charity. Wilfrid of York was one of her many pupils who became learned men.

If the monastery of Benedict Biscop produced many learned men, that of Hilda had the honor of instructing the greatest Christian poet in early England.[2] During the early part of his life, Caedmon was a simple cowherd, unmoved by the zeal for learning which animated many of his fellows, and unable even to furnish his share of entertainment when his companions were singing in turn. It is said that when he saw the instrument coming toward him, he used to leave the room, until one night, in a dream, someone appeared to him and told him to sing. He answered, "I cannot sing, for that was the reason why I left the entertainment and retired to this place, because I could not sing." The other, who had talked to him, replied: "However, you shall sing." "What shall I sing?" rejoined he. "Sing the beginning of created beings," said the other. "Hereupon he began to sing verses to the praise of God." When he woke, he remembered the song, and added to it. The abbess, on learning of his gift, persuaded him to become a monk, and ordered that he should be instructed in sacred literature to the end that he might put it into verse. Such is the story which Bede relates to explain the genius of the man who to him was the greatest of English poets. Of his work, however, we have only a fragment at best.

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 195.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 23.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLAND OF BEDE.

By the eighth century we can see the church of the English in good working order, organized and firmly established. Each province of the English had at least one bishop in charge of its religious life, and all of them were under the general direction of the archbishop. Connection between the different parts of the church and unity of action were provided for by the meeting of the yearly council at Cloveshoe,[1] and by local councils.[2] Our knowledge of this, as of every period of early English history, is very incomplete, but perhaps a fairly clear notion of the England which Bede knew may be gained by a scrutiny of the various provinces in geographical order. We may begin in the southwestern part of the island, which was inhabited by the West-Saxons. At the head of that province was Ine, who came to the throne in 688. He showed his interest by promulgating in a witenagemote laws favorable to the church.[3] By these laws, the monks were held to owe obedience in the first place to a rule under which they lived, after that to the laws of the secular power. Children were required to be baptized within thirty days. Church dues were to be promptly paid, and penalties (to which priests were doubly liable) were attached to the sin of working on Sunday. Although the penalty for fighting in a minster was not as great as if the fight had taken place in a king's house, it was twice as great as if the deed was done in the house of an alderman.

[1] This council was probably still held regularly. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 267.)

[2] These councils discussed various matters. One in Northumbria confirmed a grant made by the pope to a monastery. (Bede, Lives of the Abbats, c. 12.) Sometimes they appointed men to write their views in matters of doctrine to those who refused to conform with their usage. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 268.) Often, too, they settled disputes, as in the case of Wilfrid. Everywhere to a remarkable degree the church was supported by the secular rulers.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 214-218.

The burg-bryce of a king and a bishop required the same compensation. Penalties were set for the murder of a godson or godfather. Special provisions were made for communicants, and the churches were given the right of sanctuary.

During this reign, the province was divided into two dioceses; Winchester, which was in charge of Daniel, a man of wisdom and piety,[1] and Sherborne, under Aldhelm, the noted scholar.

Aldhelm had been first taught in the monastery of Malmesbury,[2] and had afterward studied with Adrian.[3] As he grew to manhood, he became noted for the sanctity of his life and the depth of his learning. He was regarded as an authority on all literary subjects, and with some justice, as the references in his writings show a wide range of reading.[4]

Besides the literature of the Anglo-Saxon language, in which he was well versed,[5] he was said to know Greek as well as if it had been his native tongue.[6] He was familiar with Latin, and knew something of Hebrew. He was especially skilled in music and poetry, and had studied arithmetic,[7] astronomy, astrology,[8] Roman jurisprudence, geometry and mechanics.[9] Of his poetical writings, perhaps the most important was written on the theme De Laudibus Virgini-

[1] Letter of Boniface to Daniel, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 343.

[2] William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, bk. I., c. 2. This monastery is said to have been established by Maidulphus, an Irishman, and to have been a flourishing school. (William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, bk. I, pp. 30 and 31.)

[3] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, bk. 5, p. 334. Also Letter of Aldhelm to Adrian, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 99.

[4] He cites the following authors: Gregory, Clement, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzus, Hilarion, Jerome, Athanasius, Evagrius, Eusebius, Arsenius, Julian and Aristotle. He showed a wide knowledge of ecclesiastical biography, and knew something of Greek mythology. (De Laudibus Virginitatis, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., pp. 103-166.) He also referred to Virgil, Percius Flaccus, Juvenal, Prisper, Phocas, Isidorus Arator, Andreas, Augustine, Lucanus, Juvencus and Terence. (Liber de Septenario, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., pp. 171-183.)

[5] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontiff. Angl., bk. 5, p. 286.

[6] Faricius' Life of Aldhelm, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 66.

[7] He is said to have taken a journey to Rome, and come back laden with relics and a magnificent altar. (William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontiff. Angl., bk. 5, pp. 363-371.)

[8] Letter of Aldhelm to Hedda, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 96.

[9] Letter of Aldhelm to Eahfrid, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 93.

tati, addressed to the nuns of a neighboring monastery.[1] On this subject he also wrote a tract in prose, and was the author of a book of riddles, and various letters and poems.

His influence was so widespread that even the king gave a ready ear to his admonitions. He exerted himself, not only to the fostering of learning, but toward the encouragement of right living, taking care himself to exercise the monastic virtues of temperance, chastity and almsgiving.[2] According to an old story, once, when he found the people negligent in their religious duties, he stationed himself on a bridge and sang until he attracted the attention of the people, when he skilfully introduced moral instruction into the song.[3] He also found time to complain of the nuns who gave too much attention to dress.[4] It is noteworthy that, although he sung so much the praises of virginity, he took pains to state that he did not despise lawful marriage.[5]

At this time, Wessex could boast several new religious foundations. Aldhelm is said to have founded several new monasteries,[6] and took as the subject of one of his poems a church built by the princess Bugga. He celebrated the beauty of its glass windows, the vestments of the altar, made yellow by twisted threads, the golden chalice covered with gems, "Shining as do the heavens of glowing stars," the silver plate, and the cross, resplendent with gold, silver and gems, "While frankincense breathed forth the ambrosia of Sabaean incense, when the priest celebrated the mass."[7]

After having reigned thirty-seven years, Ine gave up his kingdom and went to Rome. His example was followed by people of all classes.[8] At the time when Bede closed his Ecclesiastical History, the bishopric of Sherborne was in the hands of Forthere, a man noted for his knowledge of the Bible.[9]

[1] A knowledge of Latin was not confined to men. Several of Boniface's correspondents were women who wrote very good Latin. (Letters of Boniface, ed. Jaffe, Nos. 14 and 23.)

[2] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontiff. Angl., bk. 5, p. 357.

[3] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontiff. Angl., bk. 5, p. 336.

[4] De Laudibus Virginitatis, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 137.

[5] De Laudibus Virginitatis, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 108.

[6] William of Malmesbury, De Regis Anglorum, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXX., p. 88.

[7] Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 290.

[8] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 7.

[9] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, cc. 18 and 23.

Turning to Kent, we find that the king of that province, Withred, called together a witenagemot which passed various laws relating to the church. The bishop and king were put on an equal plane in all enactments that concerned them both, and penalties were set for the sins of fornication, making offerings to devils, the breaking of the Sabbath and prescribed fasts, for stealing, and in one instance for murder. To the church was given freedom from imposts. In one case, a difference was made between the oaths of communicants and non-communicants.[1]

The king and leading men of the kingdom also defined the position of the clergy in that province. The privilege of the archbishop to supervise the choice of abbats and abbesses, and in general to rule the church of God, was recognized as corresponding to the duty of the king to supervise the secular officers of the kingdom. The two departments were quite distinct. Grants made to monasteries by former kings were confirmed, and monks were excused from contributing to the support of the civil government, except so far as generosity prompted them, in order that they might be free to intercede for the soul of the king. Anyone who infringed upon the rights of the monastery was to be cut off from partaking of the Eucharist until he had done penance, according to the judgment of the bishop.[2][3]

When Bede closed his Ecclesiastical History, the two bishoprics of Rochester and Canterbury were in charge of Aldwulf and Tatwine. The latter, especially, was renowned for his religion and wisdom and knowledge of Holy Writ.[4]

Sussex at that time was without a bishop of its own, and his duties were performed by a West Saxon bishop.

In the beginning of the eighth century the king of Mercia had left his kingdom and gone to Rome to end his days as a monk. He had tried to improve the morals of his people and had governed well, but Bede, doubtless expressing a feeling general among religious

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 233-237.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 238-240. The form of the document used is that considered most authentic by Haddan and Stubbs.

[3] That these arrangements were in accordance with the wishes of the clergy in other provinces, is evident from the confirmation of this privilege in 716, by bishops from every province south of the Humber, and by Acca from the see of Hexham. (Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 300-301.

[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 23.

men of the time, counted it better for him to spend his life as a monk, in prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, than to nobly govern his people.[1] This king was succeeded by Ceolred, who set a far different example to his people.[2]

To the early part of this century belongs the life of Guthlac of Croyland, which gives a glimpse of the work of a hermit. During his residence in the monastery, to which he had gone for instruction, he roused the hatred of the brethren by his remarkable abstinence from intoxicating drink, but he succeeded in winning their affection by his sincerity and modesty. When he had become learned in sacred literature and monastic discipline, he decided to retire to Croyland, and there live the life of an anchorite. Unfortunately the place seemed haunted by evil spirits, which, appearing in every possible shape, continually haunted him. Yet he so far overcame them that he became famous for his sanctity, and was resorted to by people who came from the most remote parts of Britain to seek consolation for sickness of body, or sin, or visitation from evil spirits. One of his visitors was Ethelbald, who afterward became king of Mercia. We are told that no one came to him in vain, but all found relief through the miraculous cures, the exhortations and the consolation given by the saint.[3]

The province of the East Angles was divided into two dioceses, Dunwich and Elmham. That of the East Saxons was in charge of Ingwald, bishop of London.[4] This last province, like that of the Mercians, had lost the man who was to be its king, because he quitted his wife, lands, kindred and country for Christ and for the Gospel, "that he might receive an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting." He also went to Rome and became a monk.[5]

The province of the Lindissæ was subject to bishop Cunebert. In this section was the monastery of Bardney, in which Oswald was buried, and the double monastery of Partney.[5]

Northumbria, the home of Bede, and even more than Wessex, the

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 23.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 19. Letter of Boniface to Ethelbald, A.D. 745. Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 355.

[3] Life of Guthlac, Acta Sactorum, April, vol. II., pp. 40-47.

[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 33.

[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 23.

home of learning and literature, was divided into four dioceses. Wilfrid[1] was bishop of York, Ethelwald presided over the see of Lindisfarne, Pechthelm, who had been deacon or monk with the learned Aldhelm, was over the see of Whitherne, while the see of Hexham was in charge of Acca, a former priest of Wilfrid.

This Acca was noted for his activity in improving the church in his care. He not only beautified the structure itself, but provided holy vessels and lights, and collected a large number of holy relics and books on ecclesiastical subjects. Himself a fine singer, he invited a celebrated teacher of music, well versed in the Grogorian chant, to instruct the clergy in his art. Having been to Rome, he had added much to the knowledge of ecclesiastical doctrine and rules which he had before gained from Bosa, a bishop of York.[2]

The efforts of these men were aided by the peace which had at last come to the province, and gave greater opportunity for the quiet advance of civilization. Ceolwulf, the king of the province, was zealous in the cause of the monks, and ready to give them firm support in their undertakings.[3]

Yet the work was far from perfectly done. The dioceses were too large for the supervision of any one man, so that, in the absence of under clergy, the people in the remote villages and hamlets could not receive proper instruction. Three years after he finished his Ecclesiastical History, Bede wrote a long letter to Egbert, then bishop of York, in which he pointed out the needs of the province and the abuses which had crept into the ecclesiastical administration.[4] He made a plea not only for the appointment of more bishops, and for the better instruction of those who did not understand Latin, but also for more holy living among the teachers themselves. In order to be consistent, in his opinion, a bishop should live a righteous life, and correct the people in his charge. In marked contrast to this ideal were the lives of some of the bishops, who lived surrounded by drunken revellers, leading an idle life, and caring more for the tribute paid by the people than for the performance of the duties of their office. Instead of taking care that the monasteries were in charge of suitable abbats, and exercising over monks the supervision which was a part of their duty, many bishops,

[1] A former priest of John of Beverly.

[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 20.

[3] Letter of Bede to Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 316.

[4] Letter of Bede to Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 317.

by selling their signatures, confirmed the establishment of so-called monasteries, whose inmates neither lived according to monastic rule nor gave any support to the state. This evil had become so widespread that for the last thirty years a large number of the higher officers of the government had provided themselves with a refuge of this sort.[1]

The whole ecclesiastical order, however, was not tainted with the vices of covetousness, drunkenness, feasting, luxury and idleness, which had so roused the indignation of Bede. There were many devout men and women in noble institutions, which were attracting to themselves many both of the nobles and the common people.[2] Wilfrid had introduced into his monasteries the rule of Saint Benedict, which has won for itself much admiration for the temperance and good sense of its provisions.[3]

Bede, himself, was a product of the monastic system. Brought up from childhood in the twin monasteries of Weremouth and Yarrow, he was in a position to acquire whatever was to be gained from both the Irish and the Roman monks, and through his correspondence with Albinus he could get information from Canterbury.[4] He says of his life at Weremouth and Yarrow, "Spending all the remaining time of my life in that monastery, I wholly applied myself to the study of Scripture, and amidst the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church, I always took delight in learning, teaching and writing."[5]

Familiar with Latin and Greek, and not unacquainted with Hebrew, his reading had covered every branch which was then pursued in England. He was well versed in the Anglo-Saxon poetry.[6] In his works he referred to the writings of Josephus, Sedulius, Anatolius, Cassiodorus, Eutrophius, Jerome, Athanasius, Ambrose, Hilarius, Eusebius, Augustine, Cyril, Gregory, Julian, Virgil, Ovid, Varro, Acinius, Orosius, Lucilius, Melossus, Verrius, Flaccus, Lucretius, Pomponius, Solinus, Propertius, Cicero, Livy, Julius, Modestus, Cato, Laberius, Horace, Pacuvius, Terence, Fortunatus, Pompeius, Donatus,

[1] Letter of Bede to Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., pp. 319-325.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 23.
[3] Eddius, Life of Wilfrid, c. 14.
[4] Article on Bede, by W. Stubbs, in Dictionary of Christian Biography.
[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., conclusion.
[6] Letter of Cuthbert, in Symeon of Durham's Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, bk. 1, c. 15.

Arator, Victorinus, Paulinus, Aurelius, Prudentius, Pliny and Homer.[1] Many of these books were probably in the library of Benedict Biscop's monastry and possibly he found some of them at Hexham. Certainly he used the library at York,[2] which at the end of the century, at least, was wonderfully complete for the time, containing some books which Bede did not mention.[3]

He himself added in no small degree to the common stock, writing, besides many homilies and commentaries on the Bible, the lives of several saints, among them Cuthbert and the abbats of Weremouth and Yarrow; the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, which is the great authority for the period which it covers. He wrote several letters of value, including the one to Egbert on the state of Northumbria, those on the six ages of the world, the reason for leap year and for the Equinox, and a tract on the nature of things and the tides. He was also the author of hymns, epigrams, a Martyrology, a book on the art of poetry, a book on Tropes and Figures, and a small tract on the Holy Places.[4]

His work as a teacher is brought vividly before us by the letter of his pupil, Cuthbert, describing the last days of his life. It is a very pleasing picture that is given us of this scholar of long ago cheerfully spending his last days in reading with his pupils, annotating and translating into the native tongue the Gospel of John, that his pupils might not read a lie nor labor unprofitably.[5]

Work like his was not confined to the monastery of Weremouth and Yarrow, for the instruction of youth formed an important element in the life of many monasteries. Wilfrid, of York, had under his instruction the sons of noblemen who were to be prepared either for the duties of a monk, or those of an armed follower of the king.[6] While there were many ignorant who did not know Latin,[7] England

[1] Homer is mentioned but once and he may have taken his authority at second hand. (Stubbs on Bede, in Dictionary of Christian Biography, Smith and Wace.)

[2] Letter of Bede to Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 314.

[3] Alcuin's De Pontificis, et Sanctis, Ecclesiae, Eboracensis, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. C., p. 837. The abbat Ceolfrid, of Weremouth and Yarrow, quotes Plato's Republic, in his letter to Natain, Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 21, note by Giles, in Translation, p. 278.

[4] Works of Bede, Hist. Eccles., conclusion.

[5] Letter of Cuthbert, in Symeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, bk. 1, c. 15.

[6] Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, c. 21.

[7] Letter of Bede to Egbert, Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III., p. 316.

had reason to be proud of the pupils trained in her monastic schools in this century.

The religious energy of the time found now a new outlet in foreign missions, notably to the Frisians.[1] The first missionary was Wictbert. Then followed Willibrord, who had been taught in an English monastery and had then studied in Ireland.[2] The most notable one, however, was Winifrith or Boniface, whose fine work in Germany made him famous.

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 9.

[2] Alcuin's Life of Willibrord, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. C., p. 696.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

We have endeavored to trace the growth of the English church from its beginning in 597, with the landing of Augustine and his monks on the island of Thanet, to its condition at the time when Bede closed his Ecclesiastical History. Augustine found a nation of warriors, knowing little of Christianity, hard drinkers and hard fighters, whose common religion was the worship of figures made of wood and stone. Of its literature since the migration we have no remains, but it probably only consisted of bardic songs whose themes were chiefly war and drinking-revels. There is no evidence that architecture and the pictorial arts had advanced with them beyond a very rude stage.

Augustine and the monks of Gregory, by their preaching and the example of holy living, induced a small portion of these people to share in the nobler ideals and aspirations which animated them. They soon lost their foothold in the North, however, and the work was taken up by monks from Ireland who, in spite of former differences in belief, had practically the same message to give the English, and succeeded in spreading their religion, and with it their enthusiasm for learning and literature, over almost all the country occupied by the English except that already occupied by Italian monks. The synod of Whitby opened the way for unity of action, and with the coming of Theodore came more complete organization, closer connection with Rome, and increased attention to Roman learning.

The clergy were of course included in the meetings of the witenagemot, and the high position in the community which the laws of Ine and Wihtred show that they possessed must have given weight to their opinions there. More than all, their position as the priests of the accepted religion, to whom the people confessed their sins, and who regulated their penance, must have given them a tremendous power.

When Bede closed his Ecclesiastical History, the island was dotted

all over with Christian churches and monasteries giving instruction to many worshippers, who had not, like the earlier British church, to look in foreign countries for their patron saints, but who carefully preserved the memories and traditions of a series of men of their own country whose moral earnestness and sincerity of purpose had left a lasting impression on their fellows.

The church, moreover, did not lack the power which comes of organization. The religious teachers were divided into various orders, whose privileges and sphere of action were carefully defined, and who worked under an acknowledged leader, forming a recognized part of the universal Catholic church.

While bowing in matters of doctrine to the continental church and its fathers, the English church had men who were sufficiently well informed, ably to defend their doctrine and practice against the attacks of schismatics. The recognition of the authority of the Roman church did not include slavish imitation of Roman customs. From the first the methods of Rome were modified to meet the needs of the new church, and later several penitential systems sprang up among the English themselves.

The perpetuation of its influence was provided for by the education of boys in the monasteries, and a race of Christian scholars arose who, among other things, added to the common stock the work of a great Christian historian and that of a great Christian poet. A large number of men became imbued with a zeal for the study of seculiar books, and most of all for the study of the Bible, which formed the chief literature and source of inspiration for the men of the middle ages.

The church was in a position of influence in every kingdom. One source of its power was in the personal influence which the monks and bishops exerted over the kings. We have already spoken of the orderliness which characterized the realm of the Northumbrian king Edwin, and the unusual pomp assumed by the king, as possibly due in part at least to the influence of Roman monks. Noteworthy, too, is the respect with which Oswald listened to the admonitions of Aidan and the humility of Sigebert, of the East Saxons, trembling before his bishop, and begging pardon for having disobeyed him. The action of Earcombert, of Kent, in ordering the destruction of idols, and observance of fasts throughout his kingdom, must have been prompted by his religious advisors. Ine, of Wessex, is said to have looked up to Aldhelm and carefully followed his precepts.

Baptism and Sunday workings were among the subjects of his dooms. Then, too, the clergy were of course included in the meetings of the witenagemote, and the high position in the community which the laws of Ine and of Wihtred show that they possessed must have given great weight to their opinions. More than all, their position as the priests of the accepted religion, to whom the people confessed their sins, and who regulated their penance, was a source of power.

It was the favor of the rulers that gave to the monks those exemptions and privileges which caused so much annoyance to later generations. Mention has already been made of the privilege granted by Wihtred, of Kent, which exempted the monks from giving support to the civil authority, and the records of a council at Rome show that it was not considered proper for the monks to bear arms. However injurious such exemptions may have become in later years, it may well be that, among a people so engrossed in petty struggles between princes as were the English all through this time, it was the most beneficial course which the monks could have adopted to separate themselves entirely from this warfare and give to the people an exhibition of the nobility and even sanctity of the peaceful arts.

Both manual and intellectual labor formed a large part of the life of a monk. The monks of Hy were skilled in many industrial arts, and their disciple, Aidan, set an example of industry which was held up as a model to the slothful monks of the next century. Cuthbert insisted on supporting himself by the labor of his hands, and Owini is said to have presented himself at the monastery of Lastingham, axe and hatchet in hand, and as he was less capable than others of meditating on the Holy Scriptures, he spent the time which the brethren employed in reading, in doing any manual work which was necessary.[1] At Weremouth and Yarrow, and elsewhere under the Benedictine rule, idleness was not tolerated. If, as time went on, meditation relapsed into slothfulness, it was contrary to the general effort of the order. The monks are to be credited for making useful many otherwise unproductive spots. At least one trade, that of making glass windows, came to England through the agency of a monk. Wilfrid is said to have taught the South Saxons how to fish.

The monks also carried on in a very broken and inadequate way the work of our modern charitable institutions. Cuthbert, for instance, is said to have saved the needy man from the hand of the

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 3.

stronger, and the poor and destitute from those that would oppress them; comforted the weak and sorrowful; given food to the hungry and raiment to the shivering. Almsgiving and hospitality were both recognized parts of the duty of a monk. In many monasteries at least a room was especially reserved for the reception of strangers, and the sick often sought relief of these servants of God. To be sure, the cures were miraculous and did not involve much nursing, but in one instance at least, that of John of Beverly, the holy man used to keep a sick person with him during Lent by way of alms.[1] Slaves, too, were sometimes set free by the monks, as in the case of the two hundred and fifty set free by Wilfrid among the South Saxons. This was not done from any general principle in regard to the evil of slavery, since at least one abbat held a slave, and in Theodore's penitential entrance into slavery was one form of penance for a certain crime.

It cannot be denied that monasticism tended to break up family life by inculcating the doctrine of the greater blessedness of celibacy. We see Offa, of the East Saxons, leaving his wife, and Etheldrida, of Northumbria, leaving her husband, to go into a monastery. Yet such an ardent admirer of the monks and nuns as Aldhelm expressly stated that he did not despise lawful marriage. The regulations in the penitentials aimed simply to render it more productive of happiness and morality.

The custom of committing laws to writing, which was adopted by Ethelbert, Ine and Wihtred, may perhaps be traced to the influence of the monks. They certainly exercised some direct influence over the judicial department of the government. According to the penitential attributed to Theodore, the bishop had jurisdiction over the cases of the poor up to the limit of fifty solidi, and, by the right of sanctuary granted to the churches in Kent, better justice must have been secured to many offenders who would otherwise have been completely at the mercy of their pursuers.

The organization of the church under one head, the assembling of synods and councils of churchmen from various provinces, must have tended toward the upgrowth of a more national spirit, although its influence was not felt until after the period of our study.

Finally, in a comparatively lawless time, it was worth much for the people to have always before them an organized body of men and

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 5, c. 2.

women professing to live, and generally actually living, in strict obedience to an established rule, subject to the will of a superior who was obeyed without question.

If this early English church has left little trace of itself in brick or stone, and the picture brought before us by antiquaries of the probable character of its structures would not be beautiful in our eyes, we know that they were thought worthy of admiration by those who looked at them. We may suppose, therefore, that they embodied whatever idea of architectural beauty was then prevalent among the English. Certainly it was the policy of the leaders of the religious movement to cultivate an appeal to the artistic sense of the people both in the realm of music and of art. There was often at least an attempt at decoration in the Irish churches. Wilfrid's churches at York and Ripon were much admired, and that of Hexham was considered the most beautiful this side of the Alps. The vessels and vestments for the altar were often brought from abroad and noted for their beauty, as in Wilfrid's churches, in the monastery of Weremouth and Yarrow, and at the church of Bugga. Mention has already been made of the paintings in Benedict Biscop's monastery, and of the skill in transcribing books which was cultivated by the Columban monks.[1] There are manuscripts still in existence, which are by some critics attributed to this time, which still excite admiration from their beautiful combination of colors, and marvellously skillful drawing in intricate patterns.[2]

The representation of human figures is very poor, as these artists seem to have had no idea of foreshortening or perspective. There have been found specimens of ornamental metal work similar in style to the ornamentation of the manuscripts, which may belong to the seventh century, and perhaps was the work of monks.

[1] Westwood's Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria, quoted in Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, vol. II., p. 42.

[2] "I have examined, with a magnifying glass, the pages of the Gospels of Lindisfarne and Book of Kells, for hours together, without ever detecting a false line or an irregalar interlacement; when it is considered that many of the details consist of spiral lines and are so minute as to be impossible to have been executed with a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem, not only with what eyes but also with what instruments they could have been executed. One instance of these details will suffice to give an idea of this peculiarity. I have counted in a small space measuring scarcely three-quarters of an inch, by less than one-half an inch in width, the book of Armagh, not fewer than one hundred and fifty interlacements of a

On the first appearance of the monks to the English, they carried before them a silver cross and a picture of the Christ, and sang as they came. This singing was no unusual thing for the monks. Their leader, Gregory, had given much attention to ecclesiastical music and his subordinates were doubtless well instructed in the Gregorian chant, which was Gregory's contribution to music. Through their influence the study of ecclesiastical music spread through Kent and was extended by James, the deacon, into Northumbria. The Roman monks, however, were not the only ones who appealed to the people through music. Patrick is said to have been very fond of the harp and Columba was noted for his fine voice. We have a traditional account of the impression made upon the mind of an Irish boy by the singing of the Irish monks. One day a bishop and his companions were singing psalms as they journeyed along, and they passed a boy, Mochuda, who left his work and followed them to the monastery. When he returned home his master asked why he did not come before. The boy replied, "For this reason came I not to you my master, because the divine song pleased me, which I heard from the holy singers and never have I heard anything like that song. They sang it incessantly on the way and in the house, even until the time for sleep, and the holy bishop sang after them all night. Would that I, O Lord Master, might be with them, that I might learn that song." Soon after the master of the boy offered him a sword and shield and spear, and silver and gold, and royal vestments, and all the instruments of war, but the boy refused them. Then the master said unto him, "What do you wish me to give you?" The holy boy said to him, "I desire none of your carnal gifts, but I truly wish to learn the song which I heard from the saints of God." [1] With the coming of Theodore and Hadrian, the study of ecclesiastical music after the Roman method became more general and the monastery of Weremouth and Yarrow particularly became a school for the

slender ribbon pattern, formed of white lines edged by black ones upon a black ground." (Prof. Westwood in Archaeological Journal, vol. X., p. 278, quoted in Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times, vol. II., p. 152.)

The technical skill and beauty of coloring in the book of Kells, written about the end of the seventh century, may be seen from fac-similes of ornamental pages in Westwood's Fac-similes of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts, plates 8-13.

[1] Legend of Mochuda from an old Irish manuscript, in Acta Sanctorum, May, vol. III., p. 378, et seq.

study. In Wessex, too, Aldhelm extolled the beauty of the musical part of the service.[1]

The monks not only gained the ear of the people, but so far gained their confidence that parents often brought their boys to them to be educated. The father of Willibrord brought him to a monastery, that in addition to his religious studies and sacred literature he might have the advantage of being where he would see nothing which was not honorable, nor hear anything which was not holy.[2] The Irish monasteries at Hy and Lindisfarne were schools for boys, and the same was true of those founded by Romans. Bede mentions a little boy three years old in the monastery of Barking,[3] where he was under the instruction of the nuns. Theodore and Hadrian did much to rouse a desire for learning. The Benedictine rule made special provision for the instruction of youth and Eddius mentions that Wilfrid had boys in his charge.

Of course the range of study varied, but we can find out what was possible to an English boy at the time by noting the acquisitions of Bede and Aldhelm. They both wrote Latin with ease and knew something of Greek and Hebrew, but this knowledge of language did not bring with it a corresponding literary appreciation. In their grammatical works and treatises on the art of writing poetry, with many Christian writers, they cite some of the finest of classic authors as examples. Their study of them was rather a study of language than of literature. To Bede, the stories of Homer and Virgil were but light tales, which were the mark of a mind as light,[4] and Aldhelm advised Wihtfrid to study the Scriptures in preference to them.[5]

Everywhere the chief and most important object of study was the Bible, and the works of Bede which to his contemporaries were the most important were the commentaries on the Bible. These were largely compilations from the writings of the church fathers, made with great care and thoroughness. He weighed and compared the various writers, examining everything which came within his reach and showing great intellectual power, although the fruits of his labor

[1] Verses on the Church of Bugga, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. LXXXIX., p. 290.
[2] Alcuin's Life of Willibrord, Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. C., p. 996.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 8.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 20.
[5] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, bk. 5, pp. 358-359.

seem to us quite out of proportion to the zeal with which it was pursued. A reason for this lies in the fact that he, in common with other ecclesiastical writers of the age, spent most of his time and energy in trying to discover an inner allegorical meaning in all the words of the Scriptures. It was this endeavor which occupied the minds of the monks all over the country in their long hours of meditation. They studied the Bible as a series of allegories, whose hidden meaning could only be discovered by close and careful thinking.

The scientific writings of Bede and Aldhelm were simply compilations of older writers, chiefly Pliny, and in our eyes were very unscientific. The knowledge of geometry was probably restricted to simple mensuration,[1] and numerical problems were chiefly limited to calculations of various cycles with reference to determining the festivals of the church. As a sample of Bede's astronomical knowledge may be cited his belief that comets were stars produced suddenly with crests of flame and that they foreboded political revolutions, pestilences, war or great tempests and droughts.[3]

Both Bede and Aldhelm had made quite a study of the art of writing poetry, and were themselves the authors of poetical works. Bede's prose style is remarkably good for a mediæval writer, and his clearness of expression betokens corresponding clearness of thought, as well as good instruction. Aldhelm's works, on the other hand, are rendered very hard to understand by the peculiar construction of the sentences, and the frequent introduction of Greek words, which may be attributed to the teaching of Theodore and Hadrian.[2] These peculiarities are said to have been borrowed from the Christian poets whom they so often cited, and the obscurity and pomposity of their style is said to be due to the influence of the native poetry.

Besides the work which the monks themselves did as educators in England, they roused among the people what has been called a Roman patriotism, which caused a great number of the Anglo-Saxons to go to Rome. Besides the broadening influence which comes from travel, they gained a thorough knowledge of and reverence for

[1] Wright, Biographia Brittanica Literaria, pp. 83-84.
[2] Bede, De Rerum Natura, c. 24.
[3] Wright, Biog. Brit. Lit., pp. 41-44.

Roman institutions and usages. They also brought back to England many manuscripts and other valuable memorials of their visit.

The religious work of the monks is perhaps the hardest of all to measure. Leaving out of consideration the influence of the mediæval theology on the English, and taking up only their influence on human conduct, our conclusions must be based largely on conjecture. We know that many of the pilgrims to Rome succumbed to the temptations which beset them on the way.[1] Even Oswy, who took such a prominent part in the religious movements of the day, seems to have been twice guilty of murder,[2] and Boniface complained later of the extent of immorality in England. Yet those of the monks whose story we know best win our heartiest admiration for the brave fight which they made against the evil in themselves, whether it appeared to them as sin or as a visitation from evil spirits. The monk was taught to prepare himself for the future life by watching, prayer and good works.[3] The priest was fitted to instruct and baptize by erudition and a good life.[4] By the ecclesiastical laws of Ine, priests were held doubly liable for trangressions. If they were animated in good part by a spirit of what has been called other worldliness, and many were thereby induced to withdraw from their social duties to the world about them, for the sake of saving their individual souls, yet for many the means to the attainment of the heavenly kingdom was the elevation of the lives of their fellows. Even hermits like Guthlac of Croyland and Cuthbert, after his retirement to Farne, were always ready to minister to their visitors. Doubtless there were many noble souls, who, like Bede, could admire a man because the object which he had in view in all he said, did or preached was the same as their own, the redemption of mankind through the passion, resurrection and ascension into heaven of the man Jesus Christ, the mediator twixt God and man.[5] The work of the monks in England was not altogether strictly monastic, but had in it a large element of the missionary spirit, which perhaps gave it a stronger hold on the popular morality. We cannot but think that the personal influence of the noble

[1] Letter of Boniface to Cuthbert, ed. Jaffe, No. 70.
[2] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, cc. 24 and 14.
[3] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 4, c. 3.
[4] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 23.
[5] Bede, Hist. Eccles., bk. 3, c. 17.

men whom Bede presents to us must have been a potent force in the community; that to their other gifts to the English they added the gift of a higher ideal of living, which might raise them farther from their animalism toward one type, perhaps the only type possible at the time, of noble Christian manhood.

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